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MID-TERM AND FINAL EXAMINATIONS

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by JOHN A. KROUT

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

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COLLEGE OUTLINE SERIES

UNITED STATES TO 1865

JOHN A. KROUT
Professor of History
Columbia University

Fifth Edition

BARNES & NOBLE, INC. NEW YORK
PUBLISHERS • BOOKSELLERS • SINCE 1873

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L. C. catalogue card number: 55-9221

Reprinted, 1958

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

PREFACE

In preparing this outline-history of the United States from the period of discovery through the Civil War, the author has been concerned primarily with the needs of college students. The arrangement of material follows no particular textbook on the subject, but is designed to provide a plan for the organization of the information which the student acquires from his textbook and collateral reading. It should be especially useful in connection with general courses in which the instructor desires to make assignments in a wide range of historical literature. It is intended also to provide an organized compendium of political and social history to accompany textbooks in American civilization, American literature, and related subjects, as well as to provide a manual for review and ready reference.

The paragraph method of presentation which permits fuller explanations than the ordinary skeleton outline, the chronological devices, the review questions, and the maps have been prepared as aids to an understanding of the development of the American nation during the period prior to 1865. The author hopes that college students will view the outline-history as a guide to the most reliable secondary works, rather than as an easy short cut to historical knowledge. The general bibliography contains a selected list of titles with which every serious student of the history of the United States should become acquainted; the references at the close of each chapter give recommended readings on the immediate subject; and the Tabulated Bibliography supplies cross-references to latest editions of standard college textbooks.

J. A. K.

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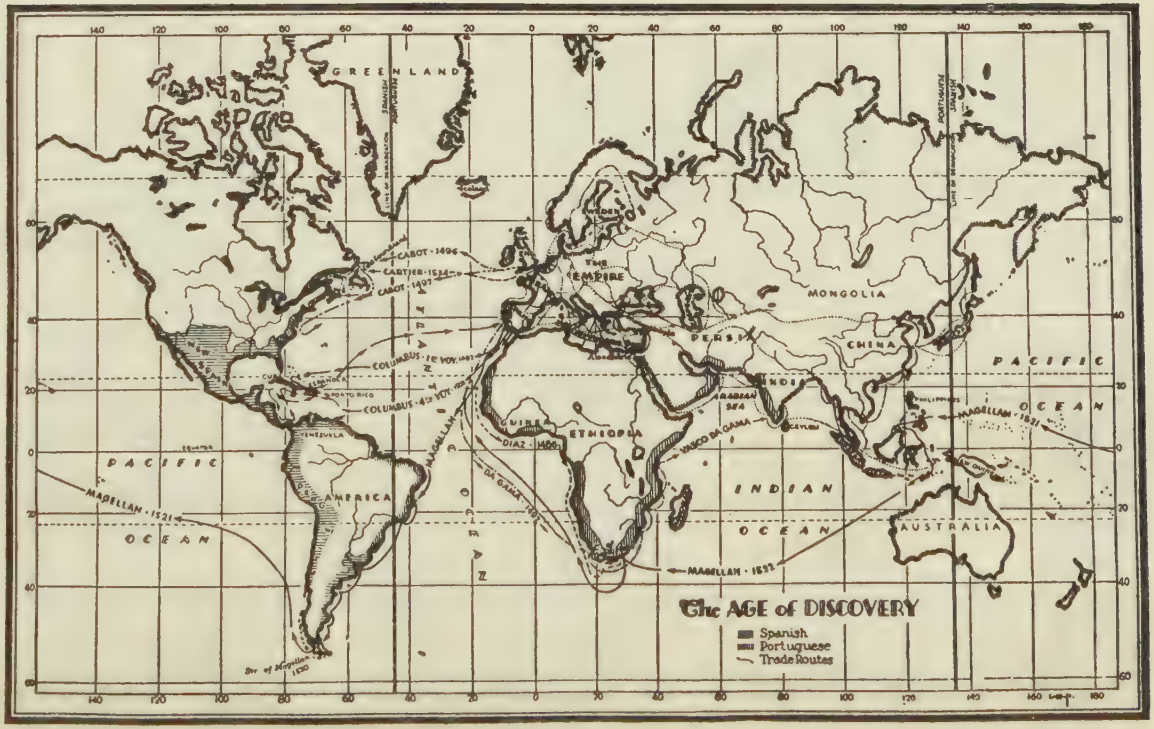
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Div. of Meridian 1493
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Significant Dates

Columbus' First Voyage	1492
Vasco da Gama Reaches India	1498
Cortez Conquers Mexico	1520
Cartier's Exploration of the St. Lawrence	1534
Defeat of Spanish Armada	1588

CHAPTER I

THE EXPANSION OF CONTINENTAL EUROPE

THE AGE OF EXPLORATION

The discovery, exploration, and settlement of the New World were phases of a great movement which carried Europeans into every part of the world. The manifestations of this expansion during the century following 1450 have often been called the Commercial Revolution.

The Vikings. Out of northern Scandinavia in the ninth and tenth centuries came the Vikings, a courageous and resourceful people for whom the sea held few terrors. Freebooters they were, to be sure, but they were also colonizers. They established a commonwealth in Iceland more than a thousand years before American forces used the island as a base in the Second World War. They left frontier settlements on Greenland and then sailed on to Vinland the Good.

It is unlikelv that we shall ever know the exact location of Vinland. If the Norse Sagas are correct, Leif, the lucky son of Eric the Red, discovered Vinland about 1000 A.D. Norsemen, who later sang of his exploits, stirred the imagination of northern Europeans for a time, but their songs gradually became mere legends. There is considerable evidence that the Norse adventurers visited the coast of Labrador, near the 56th parallel, wherever else they may have gone in their explorations.

Europe's Contacts with the East. Despite the remarkable prowess of the northern Scandinavians, they did not establish the first permanent contacts between Europe and America. The significant discovery of the New World was the result of developments in the Mediterranean basin.

THE LURE OF THE ORIENT. Between the twelfth and the fifteenth centuries Europeans learned much concerning the peoples and products of the Levant and eastern Asia. Many a thrilling tale was told by courageous knights returning from recurrent Crusades against the Saracens; by missionaries, like the spiritual Franciscans, who knew Persia, India, China, and finally Japan; by adventurous merchants, like the Polos, Nicolo, Maffeo, and young Marco, who visited the glorious court of the Great Khan of China.

ASIATIC TRADE ROUTES. Europe's demand for the luxuries of the Orient — silks, tapestries, precious stones, silver and gold, as well as for such necessities as spices and drugs, led to the development of long trade routes from Asia. Some goods were carried by sea to the head of the Persian Gulf, thence by caravan through Bagdad to the Mediterranean. The most northerly route came overland from China to the Caspian, where it branched into several tributary routes which terminated along the shores of the Black Sea.

BEGINNINGS OF THE COMMERCIAL REVOLUTION. During the fifteenth century the nations of western Europe became dissatisfied with the conditions controlling their trade with

the Levant and the Far East, which had grown to vast proportions since the era of the Crusades. They were eager to find a new way to the Orient because of: (1) the drain of precious metals to settle unfavorable trade balances; (2) the uncertain and costly methods of transportation; and (3) the Italian monopoly of the Mediterranean commerce. Certain factors favored their desire to establish new trade routes, such as: (1) increased knowledge of the Orient supplied by travellers and missionaries; (2) more exact geographical information; (3) improved methods of navigation; (4) expansion of credit facilities based on accumulation of capital.

Early Explorations. Portugal was the first European nation to establish *direct* contact with the Orient. Her mariners, trained in the school established by Prince Henry the Navigator, pushed down the coast of Africa until in 1488 Bartholomew Diaz rounded the Cape of Good Hope. In 1498 Vasco da Gama reached India. Spain financed Columbus' westward voyage in 1492. Soon other explorers were seeking new lands or new ways to old lands: John Cabot brought the British flag to the Canadian coast (1497); Cabral discovered Brazil for Portugal (1500); Balboa discovered the Pacific in 1513; Magellan carried the flag of Spain to the Philippines, and one ship from his fleet completed the circumnavigation of the globe (1519-1522); Cartier explored the St. Lawrence for France (1534-1535).

THE COLONIAL EMPIRES

The expansion of Europe, which first became evident in Portugal and Spain, soon involved most of the western European nations. By the seventeenth century these national states were engaged in establishing colonial empires.

The Portuguese Colonies. By the papal Line of Demarcation (1493), modified a year later in the Treaty of Tordesillas, Portugal was given a monopoly over "heathen lands" lying east of a line drawn from north to south pole

370 leagues west of the Azores. In the sixteenth century Portuguese traders established important posts in India, China, Japan, and the East Indies, and Lisbon reaped rich rewards. In Africa likewise commerce rather than colonization was Portugal's objective. In America, Brazil was settled and brought under the political control of the Portuguese monarchs (1515-1570).

Spain's American Empire. Unlike Portugal, Spain became a great colonizer. During the sixteenth century Spanish nobles and gentlemen adventurers created an American empire for their nation. Cortez in Mexico (1520), Pizarro in Peru (1531), Mendoza in the Argentine (1535), De Soto along the Mississippi (1539-1542), Coronado beyond the Rio Grande (1540), and Menendez in Florida (1565) pushed out the frontier of Spanish territory. By 1575 approximately 175,000 Spaniards, organized politically in the viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru, were exploiting the resources of Central and South America, Christianizing thousands of the natives, and sending a steady stream of gold and silver to Europe.

The French Explorers. Torn by disastrous foreign wars and religious strife, France did little in the sixteenth century toward an overseas empire. Verrazano visited the coast of North America (1524); Cartier failed to establish settlements along the St. Lawrence (1534-1535). Not until 1608 did Samuel Champlain, under orders from Henry IV, found Quebec, which was to become the capital of New France. The seventeenth century saw the French established in the West Indies, and claiming trading posts on the African coast and in India.

The Dutch Commercial Empire. The Dutch provinces of the Netherlands, which broke away from Spanish control in 1581, preyed upon Spanish commerce and despoiled the Portuguese in their eastern trading posts. Early in the seventeenth century Dutch commerce was rapidly increasing. The

West India Company sponsored settlements in Guiana, the West Indies, and the valley of the Hudson River, which Henry Hudson had discovered in 1609. The first trading post in the Hudson Valley was established in 1614.

Sweden and Denmark. Swedish commercial power in the Baltic countries grew rapidly in the seventeenth century. Her merchants, eager for overseas expansion, established a trading post on the Delaware in 1638. The colony struggled against great odds until 1655 when it was conquered by the Dutch. Greenland and the Virgin Islands were Denmark's closest contacts with the continent of North America.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Explain the significance of the term "Commercial Revolution."
2. Why did the nations of western Europe consider the Oriental trade so important?
3. What was the contribution of Prince Henry the Navigator to the age of discovery?
4. Explain the ability of the rising national states to break the Mediterranean monopoly held by the merchants of the Italian city-states.
5. How do you account for the leadership of Portugal and Spain in exploration and colonization during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries?
6. What characteristics of the Spanish colonial empire distinguished it from that of Portugal?
7. What was the effect of royal supervision upon the French dominions overseas?
8. What were the principal interests of the Dutch West India Company in the Hudson Valley settlements?

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Royal Grant to Lord Baltimore	1632
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CHAPTER II

THE ENGLISH MIGRATION

THE BACKGROUND OF COLONIZATION

England entered the field of empire-building somewhat tardily but she became the greatest of all the European nations in colonization. Her insularity, her expanding navy, her flourishing commerce, and her increasing middle class were great assets in her struggle with such rivals as Spain, Holland, and France.

English Interest in Overseas Expansion. English statesmen and publicists who advocated the planting of colonies in the New World were inspired by a wide range of motives. The most important factors were: (1) the desire to weaken Spain; (2) the eagerness of companies of merchant adventurers to secure easy profits; (3) the belief that England was overpopulated; (4) the desire to win converts for Protestant Christianity; (5) the determination to increase the nation's prestige by insuring its economic self-sufficiency.

Elizabethan Seamen and Pioneer Colonizers. Late in the sixteenth century the deeds of Captain John Hawkins in despoiling the Spanish slave trade, and of Francis Drake in raiding the Spanish colonies, quickened the interest of Englishmen in colonial enterprise. Sir Humphrey Gilbert tried unsuccessfully to establish a settlement in Newfoundland (1583), and Walter Raleigh sent out ventures which culminated in the Lost Colony of Roanoke (1591).

Social Unrest under the Stuarts. Colonists, as distinguished from colonizers, sought the New World as a release from their troubles in the Old. The Calvinistic dissenters, Separatists and Puritans, fled from the Stuart policy of religious uniformity, and Roman Catholics also sought refuge from possible persecution. Supporters of the parliamentary tradition emigrated to escape divine-right usurpations. The victims of economic change, who had suffered reverses in England, expected to find a new prosperity across the sea.

THE AGENCIES OF COLONIZATION

The English government used two agencies in the work of colonization — the chartered trading company and the proprietorship.

The Chartered Trading Company. These commercial companies, operating under royal charters, were composed of stockholders who shared pro rata the profits and losses of the colonial venture. Political control of the colony was at first vested in the directors of the company, who were frequently more interested in profits than in settlers.

The Proprietorship. The royal grant on terms reminiscent of feudal England was made sometimes to a single proprietor or sometimes to a group of proprietors. In the proprietorships, political control was in the hands of the recipients of the royal grant, but such power was normally delegated in part to representatives of the colonists.

THE ENGLISH COLONIES

The colonial ventures in English America between 1607 and 1732 were organized in the eighteenth century as thirteen separate political units.

Colonies Founded by Companies. Four of the thirteen original colonies were initiated by trading companies: Virginia by the London Company (1607); New Netherland by the Dutch West India Company (1623); Massachusetts by the Massachusetts Bay Company (1630); and Delaware by a Swedish company (1638).

Proprietary Colonies. Seven colonies were founded as proprietorships: Maryland by Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore (1634); New Hampshire by Captain John Mason (1635); New Jersey by Sir William Berkeley and Sir George Carteret (1663); the Carolinas by a group of royal favorites (1663); Pennsylvania by William Penn (1682); and Georgia by a board of trustees headed by James Oglethorpe (1732). New York in 1664 became the property of James, Duke of York.

The Corporate Colonies. The fact that the Massachusetts Bay Company emigrated to America, taking its charter along, converted the venture into a corporate colony. Connecticut (1662) and Rhode Island (1663), originally settled by Massachusetts malcontents, received royal charters which conferred upon the resident colonists control of political and financial affairs.

NON-ENGLISH COLONISTS

The English colonies received a large immigration of non-English stocks during the eighteenth century.

The Scotch-Irish. Presbyterians from the Scottish lowlands had been colonized in northern Ireland early in the seventeenth century. Shortly after 1700 these Scotch-Irish, under the impetus of religious and economic grievances, mi-

grated in large numbers to Pennsylvania and the colonies to the south. It is estimated that 300,000 had come to America prior to the Revolution.

The Germans. From the Rhenish Palatinate and other German provinces came thousands escaping the effects of the religious and dynastic wars during the seventeenth century. They swarmed through the little port of Philadelphia, settling in the rich agricultural districts of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and the Carolinas, as well as along the Hudson. Probably 200,000 Germans were in the colonies in 1775.

Other Non-English Groups. French Huguenot exiles settled in South Carolina and in widely-scattered groups along the seacoast. Highland Scots, Welshmen, Irish, Swiss, and Jews were represented in most of the colonies. The influence of the Dutch in New York and the Swedes in Delaware was still observable in the eighteenth century.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What circumstances delayed England's participation in the competition for colonial possessions?
2. How did England's rivalry with Spain affect her attitude toward the New World?
3. Discuss the struggle between the Stuarts and Parliament as a motive for English migration.
4. What groups of religious dissenters were most eager to seek their fortunes overseas?
5. Why was the trading company an acceptable instrument of colonization?
6. What advantages accrued to the recipient of a proprietary grant from the Crown?
7. How was the Massachusetts Bay Company transformed into a body politic?
8. In what respects did the corporate colony, such as Connecticut, differ from the proprietorship, such as Pennsylvania?

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Significant Dates

Founding of Harvard College .	1636
Maryland Toleration Act . .	1649
American Philosophical Society	1743

CHAPTER III

PROVINCIAL AMERICA

THE LAND SYSTEMS

The lodestone which attracted most settlers to the English colonies was the opportunity to become landowners.

Land Tenure in New England. The New England colonies normally recognized grants of land to town groups, the town proprietors being empowered to assign to each settler a home lot to be owned in fee simple. Feudal restrictions were the exception. The law of primogeniture was supplanted in this section by the practice of equal distribution of an estate to all heirs, or the reservation of only a double portion to the eldest son. Small farms, rather than great estates, were typical.

Feudal Characteristics of Land Systems. Freeholds, similar to those in New England, existed in parts of the middle colonies, but generally the system of landholding was

based upon semifeudal grants by an overlord, who had received his holdings from the Crown. Such were the manorial estates in New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and the extensive holdings which developed under individual grants in Virginia and the Carolinas. By the eighteenth century feudal obligations, which had been occasionally enforced, were superseded by the payment of a quitrent. Colonial farmers frequently evaded paying it.

Land Speculation. The fertile acres beyond the fringe of settlement attracted not only pioneer settlers, eager to occupy them, but also shrewd speculators, determined to hold them for future increase in value. Every colony had its land companies and great proprietors, who secured large grants along the frontier and thereby aroused the hostility of actual settlers anxious to acquire homes.

THE LABOR PROBLEM

The colonial farmers, merchants, and manufacturers were generally confronted by the problem of an inadequate labor supply, for the ease of becoming landowners meant that industrious colonists soon became landlords in their own right. Indentured servants and slaves constituted the most important labor force.

Indentured Servants. These bondsmen, under contract for a limited term of service, were particularly numerous in the colonies from New York to Virginia. The voluntarily indentured, or "redemptioners," were sometimes skilled artisans or persons with professional training. The unskilled laborers were often recruited by kidnappers operating in European ports; many were transported by English courts for political and religious offenses, as well as for misdemeanors and crimes.

Negro Slaves. Late in the seventeenth century the white indentured servants were rapidly replaced in Virginia and the Carolinas by enslaved Africans. The first shipload of

Negroes had been landed in Virginia in 1619. Slavery did not become important until British merchants won an important share of the African slave trade, and American planters became convinced that slaves constituted a better and cheaper labor supply than indentured servants.

THE ORGANIZATION OF PRODUCTION

Colonial America was a land of farmers and planters, but there were differences in the organization of economic life determined by natural resources, land tenure, and labor supply.

The Maritime Provinces. The New England colonies showed certain similarities in the processes of their economic life which distinguished them from other sections of colonial America.

Agriculture. New England was marked by a diversified farming of small freeholds. The principal products were corn, oats, rye, barley, cattle, sheep, and horses.

Fisheries. Colonial fisheries as major industries were virtually confined to New England. The supply of deep-sea fish was a basic factor in American commerce with Europe and the West Indies. In 1765 the industry in New England employed 10,000 men and had gross earnings of nearly $2,000,000 a year. In the eighteenth century New England whalers were cruising from the Arctic Ocean to the coast of Brazil. Approximately 360 vessels were engaged in the industry at the outbreak of the Revolution.

Commerce and Shipbuilding. New England was naturally a maritime region, and seafaring and trade eclipsed agriculture. Her shipbuilders and mariners played a role in intercolonial and foreign commerce far greater than is indicated by the proportion of New England products in that commerce. In the eighteenth century New England built twice as large a tonnage as all the other colonies combined.

Manufacturing. Domestic production, in New England, as elsewhere, was supplemented by the output of small handicraft industries. Woolen textiles, leather goods, household utensils, and iron implements were important, but in the eighteenth century the distillation of rum became New Englands chief manufacturing industry. It was part of the profitable trade in molasses, rum, and slaves which brought specie into the maritime provinces.

The Provision Provinces. New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania have aptly been called the provision provinces.

Agriculture. Diversified farming, not unlike that of New England, was more rewarding in the fertile valleys of the middle colonies. Wheat, corn, and other grains, cattle, sheep, swine, vegetables, and fruits were the food stuffs which bulked large in the export trade of this section.

Fur Trade. The trade in furs was particularly important in the seventeenth century, but it declined in New York after 1700.

Manufacturing. The wheat areas of the provision provinces were dotted with flour mills. The presence of skilled workmen in Pennsylvania and New Jersey enabled the section to make important contributions to the production of textiles, paper, glass, and iron.

The Plantation Provinces. The southern colonies from Maryland to Georgia became increasingly interested in the production of great staple crops.

Agriculture. Though the southern colonies produced grains and fruits, the farmers and planters of the section relied upon tobacco (Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina), rice, and indigo (South Carolina and Georgia) as their commercial crops. Before the Revolution, Maryland and Virginia were raising fifty million pounds of tobacco annually, whereas South Carolina was exporting five hundred thousand pounds of rice a year.

Lumber and Naval Stores. The forests of the Carolina uplands furnished lumber for shipbuilding and "naval stores" — pitch, tar, and turpentine — for the British navy.

Fur Trade. In the eighteenth century Carolina and Georgia traders did a thriving business in furs, Augusta becoming one of the important trading centers in furs in America.

Manufacturing. The southern colonies had fewer manufacturing establishments than the other sections of the country. The iron industry was important in Maryland and Virginia, but most of the work of blacksmiths, tanners, cobblers, weavers, etc., was done on the plantations for domestic consumption.

THE RELIGIOUS SCENE

In the English colonies the European tradition of the union of church and state slowly gave way before the demand for religious liberty and the growth of religious toleration.

The Established Churches. With the exception of Rhode Island and Pennsylvania, all of the colonies at one time or another devoted part of the public taxes to the support of a particular religious organization.

Congregationalism. Massachusetts and Connecticut supported the Congregational church. In the seventeenth century their religious intolerance not only barred out Roman Catholics and persecuted Protestant dissenters, but also made church membership a test for civil rights and political privileges.

Anglicanism. The colonies from Maryland to Georgia supported the Church of England with public funds in the eighteenth century. New Jersey and New York also devoted sums occasionally to the maintenance of the Anglican establishment.

The Rise of Religious Toleration. The religious intolerance which characterized many sections of colonial Amer-

ica, and was particularly intense in Puritan New England, receded during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

Experiments in Religious Freedom. Such examples of tolerance as the Maryland Toleration Act of 1649, the attitude of Roger Williams in Rhode Island, and the broad invitation to all sects sent out by William Penn contributed to the movement against religious bigotry.

Decline of Puritan Power. The New England theocracies made notable concessions to dissenters in the eighteenth century. The Massachusetts charter of 1691 removed the Congregational church test for the right to vote. In 1708 Connecticut permitted the establishing of Anglican churches, and also adopted a policy of co-operation with the Presbyterians. The decline of sectarianism in Massachusetts was reflected in the decision to permit dissenters to use their church taxes for the support of their own ministers.

Multiplication of Sects. The non-English migrations of the eighteenth century brought thousands of Protestants to America who were neither Congregationalists nor Anglicans. Their increasing numbers constituted a pressure on the established churches which promoted religious tolerance. Along the frontier neither of the established churches could compete with the Baptists, Presbyterians, Methodists, and Quakers. The evangelical spirit, greatly stimulated by the preaching of Jonathan Edwards (1734), which became manifest in the revivals of the "Great Awakening," was not sympathetic toward the union of church and state.

EDUCATIONAL TRENDS

Education was an early concern of the English colonists, especially in the communities of New England.

Elementary Schooling. The educational ideal was expressed by Massachusetts in 1649 when it required every

town of fifty householders to maintain a grammar school. In New England, more than any other part of the colonies, the civil government assumed responsibility for elementary education. Elsewhere schools were dependent upon religious societies and other private organizations. In the South the tidewater families employed private tutors or relied upon the clergy to conduct secondary schools.

Collegiate Training. Before the Revolution nine collegiate establishments had been founded: Harvard (1636), William and Mary (1693), Yale (1701), the "Academy" in Philadelphia, which developed into the University of Pennsylvania (1740), the College of New Jersey, now Princeton (1746), King's College, later Columbia (1754), Brown (1764), Rutgers (1766), and Dartmouth (1769). With the exception of Franklin's Philadelphia Academy they were initiated by religious organizations. Many wealthy Southerners sent their sons to England to complete their education.

Cultural Beginnings. By 1775 it was clear that the transplanted European culture, which had withered in America, was being slowly replaced by a native culture.

Newspapers and Magazines. The literate portion of the population had access to more than fifty newspapers established after the *Boston News Letter* (1704). The few magazines published showed a catholicity of interest that was remarkable in a frontier society.

Libraries and Learned Societies. The eighteenth century witnessed a large increase in the number of books imported to America as well as in the number printed in the colonies. The private libraries of leading citizens grew in size, and public subscription libraries were founded on the model of Franklin's in Philadelphia (1731). The American Philosophical Society (1743), under Franklin's leadership, strove to unite the zealous workers in the fields of philosophic speculation and scientific investigation.

THE FINE ARTS. The paucity of colonial contributions to American culture is painfully evident in architecture, sculpture, painting, music, and drama. Yet the work of such artists as John Singleton Copley, Benjamin West, Charles Wilson Peale, and Gilbert Stuart on the eve of the Revolution was distinguished according to European as well as American standards.

THE ENGLISH HERITAGE

Despite the differences in the economic and social life of the colonists, they possessed a common bond in their English heritage.

The English Language. Americans on the eve of the Revolution were predominantly British. Except among the German groups in Pennsylvania, English was the speech of the overwhelming majority in every community.

English Literary Traditions. A further bond of unity for the thirteen colonies was their common literature, expressing their traditional ideals as Englishmen.

Political Precedents and Legal Concepts. In spite of large groups of settlers from the European continent, nowhere in English America were political institutions or legal codes seriously modified from their English prototypes.

English Tradition of Personal Liberty. The English tradition of personal liberty, which figured so prominently in the English revolutions of the seventeenth century, gained new emphasis and meaning in colonial America.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How did colonial conditions modify the transplanted English landholding systems?
2. Define carefully the following terms: (a) headright; (b) quitrent; (c) absentee-landlordism; (d) primogeniture; (e) redemptioner.
3. The colonial farmer has been called a "jack-of-all-trades." Explain.
4. What was the basis of the commercial activity of New England?

5. What is meant by an "established church"? Where was the Anglican church established?
6. How did the increase of evangelical Protestant sects affect the traditional doctrine of the union of church and state?
7. What was the character and purpose of the early American colleges?
8. Why did the English heritage constitute a strong bond of union among the thirteen colonies?

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Outbreak of Puritan Revolution	1642
Enumerated Commodities Act .	1660
Dominion of New England . .	1688
Bill of Rights	1689

CHAPTER IV

BRITISH COLONIAL POLICIES

THE EARLY STUARTS

From the accession of James I (1603) to the departure of James II (1688) the Stuarts endeavored to impose the royal will on the colonies in America, only to be thwarted by political exigencies in Great Britain.

Attempts at Royal Control. James I (1603-1625) endeavored to create the necessary administrative organs to maintain the Crown's authority in the colonies. He appointed a Council of Trade (1622) to enforce English laws in America, and revoked the charter of the London Company, making Virginia a royal province (1624). Charles I (1625-1649) vested large powers over the colonies in a commission of twelve privy councilors (1634).

The Puritan Revolution. The plans of Charles I were terminated by the revolt against his authority in 1642. The Long Parliament appointed a special board of six lords and twelve commoners (1643), but it accomplished little.

Policy of the Restoration. With the restoration of Charles II (1660-1685) royal authority in America was reasserted. The new king sought advice from wealthy merchants and nobles whom he named to two bodies — a Council for Foreign Plantations and a Council for Trade (1660). These advisory councils were merged after 1674 in a permanent committee of the Privy Council for "Trade and Foreign Plantations." Charles's plans were interrupted by foreign wars and domestic strife. In 1684 he secured the revocation of the Massachusetts charter and initiated a policy carried out by his successor, James II (1685-1688), of uniting the northern colonies under one royal governor.

The Dominion of New England. In 1686-1688 James created the Dominion of New England (New England, New York, and New Jersey) under Sir Edmund Andros. The Dominion collapsed when James II was driven from the throne by the "Glorious Revolution" (1688-1689).

PARLIAMENT AND THE EMPIRE

While the Stuarts were failing in their attempts to make royal administration effective, Parliament was strongly defending the theory that colonial control was a matter of commercial regulation and, therefore, of parliamentary concern.

Mercantilism. The British legislators, like other European statesmen, generally accepted the politico-economic theory of mercantilism which held that a nation's prosperity was measured by the amount of precious metals which it could accumulate through favorable trade balances. Colonies were valuable, if they furnished raw materials that the colonizing nation needed and the market for its finished products,

thus enabling the colonizing nation to sell abroad much more than it had to buy.

The Acts of Trade. The British legislation which sought to realize the mercantile theory embraced a series of trade acts generally called the "Old Colonial System."

Navigation Act of 1651. Aimed at the carrying trade of the Dutch, this act required all goods entering England to be carried in ships owned and in major part manned by British subjects, including colonials, or in ships of the country producing the goods. All goods imported into or exported from an English colony were required to be in English vessels.

The Enumerated Commodities Act (1660). This law re-enacted most of the provisions of 1651 and specified that certain commodities such as tobacco, sugar, cotton, indigo, ginger, and dyes could be exported from the colonies only to England or to other colonies of England.

The Staple Act (1663). This act provided that all European imports into the American colonies, with a few exceptions, must first be brought into English ports and there be reshipped. Duties collected in English ports on these goods protected British merchants against foreign competition in the colonial markets.

The Duty Act (1673). This was an important step toward enforcing the previous legislation through colonial customs collectors directly responsible to the commissioners of customs in England.

The Enforcement Act of 1696. This law contained stringent clauses to break up smuggling, provided for proper registry of English ships, and authorized collectors and inspectors to search ships, wharves, or warehouses and to seize unlawful merchandise. Vice-admiralty courts were established in most of the colonies.

Difficulties of Enforcement. The colonists regarded the Acts of Trade as inconsistent with their privileges and de-

structive of their growing commerce. They reluctantly accepted a theory of commercial regulation which subordinated colonial interests to those of the mother country. Their resentment was shown in studied evasion of some of the trade laws. Customs officials, notably Edward Randolph in Massachusetts (1680), found little co-operation in carrying out their duties.

THE "WHIG COMPROMISE"

Although the "Glorious Revolution" subjected the Crown to Parliament in England, the victorious Whigs strove in the eighteenth century to dominate the colonists in America through officials appointed by the Crown.

Increasing Imperial Control. The determination of the royal ministers to strengthen the bonds of imperial control was revealed in various ways: (1) the free use of the royal veto over acts of the colonial legislatures; (2) the strict regulation of colonial currency; (3) the extension of the right of appeal to the Privy Council; (4) the conversion of chartered colonies to royal provinces. Between 1682 and 1752 eight charters were annulled, and royal officials increased in all the colonies.

Colonial Conflicts with British Officials. While British statesmen insisted that King in Parliament was the supreme legislative authority for the colonies, the American colonists were equally determined that royal officials should not control their elected assemblies.

THE ROYAL PROVINCE. By 1775 all of the English provinces except Connecticut, Rhode Island, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland conformed to the royal province pattern of government. In each the Crown was represented by a royal governor, advised by a council, usually named by the Crown, and dependent for his salary on a legislature chosen by the qualified voters of the province. The governors generally appointed the judges of the colonial courts.

Royal Governors versus Colonial Assemblies. The colonial assembly stood as the representative of the people against the encroachments of royal prerogative. There were frequent quarrels between the governors and their assemblies over control of appropriations, provision for frontier defense, enforcement of the Navigation Acts, and payment of the governor's salary.

Customs Agents versus Merchants and Shippers. Great merchants, like Peter Faneuil and John Hancock, defied the British customs officials and throve on illicit trade. Other merchants, less influential, followed their example, and lawsuits were frequent, engendering bitterness. There was constant dispute over the jurisdiction of the vice-admiralty courts in cases involving trade.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How did the vicissitudes of English politics in the seventeenth century interfere with the establishment of an effective control in the new world?
2. What politico-economic theories were embodied in the Acts of Trade?
3. To what extent did these theories endanger the commercial prosperity of the colonies?
4. What was the purpose of the Dominion of New England? Why was it a failure?
5. By what means did Parliament in the eighteenth century seek to establish a stricter control over the American colonies?
6. Was there any justification for the assumption of financial power by the colonial assemblies?
7. What was the effect in the colonies of the lax enforcement of British commercial regulations?

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Significant Dates

La Salle's Exploration of the Mississippi	1682
Treaty of Utrecht	1713
Braddock's Defeat	1755
Fall of Quebec	1759
Treaty of Paris	1763

CHAPTER V

ANGLO-FRENCH STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY

THE INTERCOLONIAL WARS

From the accession of William and Mary (1689) to the Peace of Paris (1763) the pressure of New France on the frontiers was a continuous factor in the history of English America.

The "Gallic Peril." From their settlements on the banks of the St. Lawrence the French during the seventeenth century had gone up the river to the Great Lakes, had established their missions and forts as far west as the point of Lake Superior, and had crossed the portages into the Ohio-Mississippi Valley. La Salle reached the mouth of the Mississippi River in 1682. The English were threatened by an encircling movement adroitly executed by their greatest European rival.

Early Indecisive Contests. The Dominion of New England set up under Andros (1686-1688) was an attempt to consolidate the northern colonies to meet the threat of the French and Indians. The first episodes in this Second Hundred Years' War between France and England were sporadic and poorly organized.

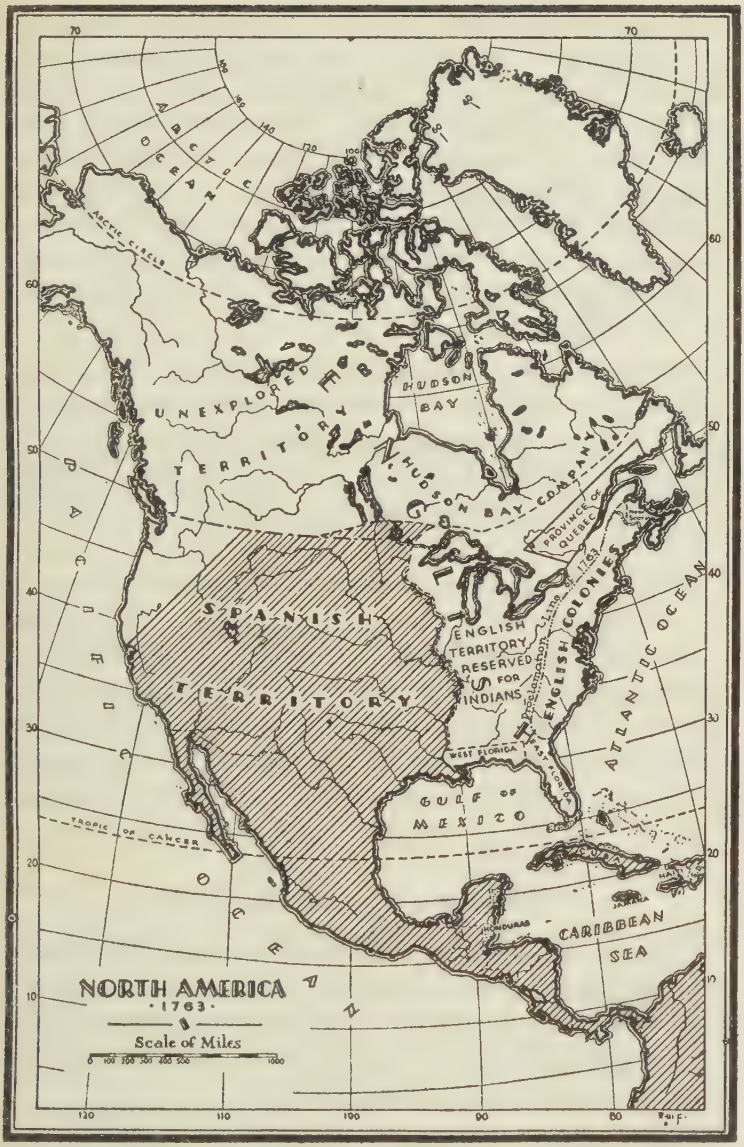
King William's War (1690-1697). The European phase was known as the War of the League of Augsburg. In America Frontenac secured powerful Indian allies for France and inspired raids on English frontier settlements, the most terrible being the Schenectady (New York) massacre (1690). The English took Port Royal, Acadia (1690), but failed in an attempt on Quebec. The Treaty of Ryswick (1697) settled nothing.

Queen Anne's War (1702-1713). This was the American counterpart of the War of the Spanish Succession. The English colonies had little to show for their military efforts except the conquest of Acadia (1710). By the Treaty of Utrecht (1713) Great Britain secured the Hudson Bay region, Newfoundland, and Nova Scotia (Acadia). The Asiento conferred on British merchants a monopoly of the slave trade in Spanish America.

King George's War (1744-1748). During this conflict, which was a phase of the War of the Austrian Succession, New England troops captured Louisburg, which was returned in the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The war contributed little toward a settlement of the American controversy.

The French and Indian War (1754-1763). The decisive struggle came as a result of the French attempts to control the Ohio Valley.

The Belligerents. Hostilities broke out in America two years before the opening of the Seven Years' War in Europe (1756). The French had certain advantages at the outbreak of hostilities: (1) the effective royal control over New France


NORTH AMERICA
·1763·
Scale of Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 1000
ARCTIC OCEAN
ARCTIC CIRCLE
UNEXPLORED TERRITORY
HUDSON BAY
HUDSON BAY COMPANY
PROVINCE OF QUEBEC
PROCLAMATION LINE OF 1763
ENGLISH COLONIES
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SPANISH TERRITORY
ENGLISH TERRITORY RESERVED FOR INDIANS
WEST FLORIDA
EAST FLORIDA
GULF OF MEXICO
TROPIC OF CANCER
PACIFIC OCEAN
HONDURAS
JAMAICA
CARIBBEAN SEA

insuring unity of action; (2) a well-disciplined standing army in America; (3) forts located at strategic points from Quebec to the Ohio valley; (4) powerful Indian allies. The English were weakened by lack of unified control, by conflicting plans in the various colonies, and by the jealousy between the colonial and regular troops. To the advantage of the British must be recorded the following facts: (1) a population fifteen times as great as that of New France; (2) control of the seas; (3) inexhaustible resources in America; (4) friendship with the Iroquois.

William Pitt. The war went badly for the British until William Pitt assumed the leadership in 1757. His appeal for patriotic co-operation with the colonies brought results. Amherst took Louisburg (1758); Forbes took Fort Duquesne (1758); Wolfe captured Quebec (1759); and Montreal fell (1760).

The Peace of Paris (1763). The treaty of peace sealed the triumph of Great Britain in North America. The British controlled the territory from the Atlantic to the Mississippi and from the Arctic to the Gulf of Mexico, with the exception of New Orleans. West of the Mississippi stretched Spanish territory. The French empire in America was reduced to two small islands, St. Pierre and Miquelon, off Newfoundland, and the sugar islands of Guadeloupe and Martinique.

IMPERIAL READJUSTMENTS

The results of the French and Indian War were momentous for the English colonies. The removal of the "Gallic Peril" made them less dependent upon Great Britain for military defense. The experience of the war had shown them many defects in the system of imperial control.

Intercolonial Co-operation. The French threat emphasized the need for intercolonial organization to handle Indian relations and military affairs.

THE ALBANY CONGRESS (1754). Seven colonies sent delegates to the conference at Albany, which finally accepted Franklin's plan for a president-general, appointed by the King, and a federal council chosen by the colonial assemblies. The council was to provide for defense, control Indian relations, and levy taxes for general purposes. The plan was accepted by the Congress, but it was rejected by the British government as well as by the colonial assemblies.

CO-OPERATION IN CONTINENTAL AFFAIRS. The war convinced colonial leaders of the great value of intercolonial co-operation in military affairs and pointed the way to united effort in other matters.

Prestige of Colonial Legislatures. The war emphasized the importance of the local legislatures in the British imperial system, for they maintained their control of the purse, appropriating sums for military expeditions, granting supplies to the British forces, and exercising supervision over the colonial militia.

Military Experience. The colonial leaders became convinced during the war that their militia had proved to be the equal of the British regulars. Their self-confidence was tinged by resentment over the way in which British officers had patronized the colonial officers and men.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Compare the French and English colonial systems.
2. What great advantages did the British possess in their struggle with the French for dominance in North America?
3. Explain the effect of European dynastic rivalries upon the French and English colonists.
4. What were the most important areas of friction between the English and French at the outbreak of the French and Indian War?
5. How did the mistakes of the British War Office complicate the situation in America?
6. What was the significance of William Pitt in Anglo-American relations?
7. Discuss the effect of the removal of the French upon the relations between England and her colonies.

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Proclamation Line	1763
Stamp Act	1765
Boston Massacre	1770
Intolerable Acts	1774
First Continental Congress	1774

CHAPTER VI

CONFLICT OF INTERESTS WITHIN THE EMPIRE

IMPERIAL REORGANIZATION

Following the French and Indian War the British statesmen faced new aspects of the great riddle of imperial organization.

The Problem of Imperial Revenue. The merchants and landlords in Parliament demanded that the tax burden be lightened by compelling the colonies to bear a larger share of the cost of imperial administration and defense. Great Britain's debt had doubled since 1756 and the cost of maintaining civil and military establishments in America had increased fivefold since 1748. There were complaints that few of the colonies had imposed adequate taxes to meet the requisitions of the British government during the war.

The Regulation of Trade. British merchants asserted that the colonists violated the Acts of Trade with impunity, and charged that colonial merchants had made handsome profits during the French wars by supplying the enemy with foodstuffs and other materials. More effective commercial regulations seemed imperative to the mercantile classes in England.

The Organization of the West. The most pressing problem was that of the new territories, where questions of Indian relations, fur trade, land policy, and political administration had to be solved.

Pontiac's Conspiracy (1763). This formidable uprising of the Indians of the Ohio Valley confirmed British administrators in their decision that a permanent standing army was necessary in America.

The Royal Proclamation of 1763. This edict erected four new governments: Granada in the West Indies, East Florida, West Florida, and Quebec. It reserved all the territory between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi for the use of the Indians, and ordered the colonists to remain east of a line drawn along the crest of the Alleghenies. The line aroused a storm of protest from traders, frontier settlers, and land speculators in America.

The Quebec Act of 1774. This act, designed to correct certain mistakes in the Proclamation of 1763 and to satisfy the French Canadians, extended the boundaries of Quebec southwestward to the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. It was interpreted by the English colonists as evidence that Great Britain intended to nullify colonial claims to western land.

Boundaries of Quebec, 1774

GRENVILLE'S POLICIES

George III and his ministers treated the recently enlarged empire as if it were a medieval fief to be brought under effective royal control. George Grenville, able and conscientious, announced as his policy: the establishment of a permanent military force in America; the enforcing of the Acts of Trade; the raising of a revenue in America by parliamentary taxation.

Parliament's Revenue Measures. Grenville hoped to use the trade laws as part of his scheme to force the colonies to share the burden of imperial expenses.

Writs of Assistance. These general search warrants, against which James Otis had protested, were now widely used to enforce the various trade acts and to secure revenue which had formerly been lost through smuggling activities.

The Sugar Act (1764). This was virtually an amendment of the Molasses Act of 1733, which had never been successfully enforced. A duty of 3*d.* a gallon was retained on foreign molasses, duties on refined sugars were increased, and duties on wines, silks, and other fabrics were imposed. The customs service in America was increased in personnel and given wider jurisdiction.

The Currency Act (1764). This law, at the solicitation of British creditors, forbade further issue of paper money in the colonies and prevented colonial debtors from settling accounts in depreciated currency.

The Stamp Act (1765). Revenue stamps were required on newspapers, pamphlets, licenses, and commercial and legal documents.

The Quartering Act (1765). An attempt was made to reduce expenses by compelling the colonists to furnish lodging and supplies for British troops if colonial barracks were inadequate.

Colonial Opposition. The resistance of the colonists to the Grenville legislation took the form of commercial boycotts and mob violence.

Commercial Boycotts. Colonial merchants, aroused by the threat to their lucrative West Indian trade evident in the Sugar Act, tried nonimportation and nonconsumption agreements as a form of economic coercion. These efforts were more effective after the resentment over the Stamp Act stirred the colonies.

Violent Resistance. The more radical element, organized as the Sons of Liberty, held public demonstrations, terrorized the stamp collectors, and destroyed the stamps. In Boston, houses of British officials were attacked.

Modification of Grenville Legislation. The decline of American trade with Great Britain caused the British merchants to demand a conciliatory policy.

Stamp Act Congress (1765). Delegates from nine colonies assembled in New York and protested to the King against parliamentary taxation.

Repeal of the Stamp Act (1766). The Rockingham ministry repealed the Stamp Act and reduced duties imposed in 1764.

The Declaratory Act (1766). Parliament asserted its right to tax the colonies at any time.

THE TOWNSHEND PROGRAM

Charles Townshend, erratic Chancellor of the Exchequer, attempted to secure imperial revenue through the regulation of trade.

The Townshend Legislation. In 1767 Parliament passed a Duty Act imposing duties on glass, lead, painters' colors, tea, and paper to be collected by British commissioners in America. In 1767 an act suspended the New York assembly

for refusing to comply with the Quartering Act. The following year the Massachusetts General Court was dissolved for issuing a "circular letter" calling for united resistance and the Virginia Burgesses were dissolved for endorsing the letter.

Colonial Protests. The Townshend duties were answered by the renewal of commercial boycotts. Violence was less in evidence, though customs officials in Boston were roughly handled when they searched John Hancock's sloop *Liberty*. Two regiments of British troops were quartered in Boston.

The Boston Massacre (1770). A brawl between the "Redcoats" and a street crowd in Boston developed into a mob attack and the British troops killed four.

Repeal of the Townshend Acts. Parliament in 1770 repealed the duties on colonial imports with the exception of the tax on tea.

LORD NORTH

Lord North's ministry adopted a conciliatory policy, but the radicals in the colonies prepared to meet any future infringement upon their political and economic rights.

The Organization of the Radicals. Samuel Adams organized Committees of Correspondence in Massachusetts, whence they spread into other colonies, to keep up the defense of colonial rights. They used such incidents as the burning of the British revenue cutter *Gaspee* (1772) as propaganda. The conservatives were still in control of the situation in the colonies.

The Boston Tea Party. Lord North and his colleagues in 1773 blundered in an attempt to help the British East India Company sell its surplus tea in America.

THE TEA ACT OF 1773. Parliament relieved the Company of the duty on its tea in England and granted it a monopoly

of the transport of tea to America, where it could be sold by Company agents, subject to a small import duty.

Destruction of Tea in Boston. In Boston a crowd, disguised as Indians, boarded the East India Company's vessels and dumped the tea into the harbor. Elsewhere the colonies refused the Company permission to land its tea, or else prevented the sale.

The Intolerable Acts. The British replied to the destruction of the East India Company's property by a series of punitive measures known as the "Intolerable Acts" (1774).

Boston Port Bill. The port was closed until the colony should pay for the destroyed tea.

Massachusetts Government Act. The charter of 1691 was virtually abrogated and the Boston town meeting was forbidden to assemble without the governor's permission.

The Administration of Justice Act. This provided for the transportation of British officials, charged with murder in suppressing riots, to England for trial.

The Quartering Act. A new act compelled the province of Massachusetts to provide lodging and food for British soldiers.

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS (1774)

The colonial reply to the Intolerable Acts was the assembling of the First Continental Congress to consider united measures of resistance.

Character of the Congress. Its members, chosen by Committees of Correspondence, Committees of Safety, and provincial mass meetings, were inclined to take the radical rather than the conservative view of imperial problems.

The Decisions of the Congress. The Congress rejected Joseph Galloway's conservative proposal for a permanent

congress of the colonies with power to concur with Parliament in legislation for America. It proceeded to more radical action.

Ratification of Suffolk Resolves. An endorsement of the action of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, in declaring the Intolerable Acts void, and in advising the training of a militia force to protect the colony.

"Declaration of Rights and Grievances." An ultimatum to Great Britain demanding a return to the status of 1763.

The Association. An agreement boycotting both import and export trade with Great Britain and outlining methods of securing enforcement of the agreement.

Miscellaneous Papers. A petition to the King, an address to the province of Quebec, and an appeal to the people of England for redress of their grievances.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How did the results of the French and Indian War complicate the problem of British imperial organization?
2. Why was the period after 1763 too late for the formulation of a comprehensive system of imperial control?
3. Would the Americans have been satisfied with a system of taxation imposed by a Parliament in which they had minority representation? Why?
4. Why did the Stamp Act meet with such unexpected and violent opposition?
5. Discuss the significance of the Samuel Adams type of patriot in the period from 1763 to 1774.
6. Why did Lord North's attempt to aid the British East India Company culminate in the Boston Tea Party?
7. What were the "Intolerable Acts"?
8. How radical were the members of the First Continental Congress, as judged by the work of the Congress?

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Significant Dates

The Second Continental Congress	1775
Declaration of Independence	1776
Burgoyne's Surrender at Saratoga	1777
The French Alliance	1778
Yorktown	1781

CHAPTER VII

REVOLUTION: POLITICAL AND SOCIAL

REVOLT WITHIN THE EMPIRE

Before the Second Continental Congress assembled in the spring of 1775 the Massachusetts "Minute Men" had faced the British regulars at Lexington and Concord.

The Appeal to Arms. After the adjournment of the First Continental Congress the radical leaders created Committees of Safety throughout the colonies to enforce the non-intercourse features of the Association agreement. Though North's ministry offered a compromise on the issue of taxation, this overture was nullified by the Restraining Act (March, 1775) designed to destroy New England's commerce.

LEXINGTON AND CONCORD. The quarrel between General Gage and the Massachusetts patriots drifted into armed con-

flict in April, 1775, when the military governor tried to seize Adams and Hancock and destroy the military stores in the hands of the radicals. Lexington and Concord aroused all the colonies.

Siege of Boston. Militia from the New England states surrounded Gage's regiments in Boston, while their leaders appealed to the Second Continental Congress for aid.

The Second Continental Congress. The Second Continental Congress, which met in Philadelphia in May, 1775, assumed authority in intercolonial affairs. The radicals, over the opposition of the conservatives, took steps to raise and equip an army, appointed Washington commander-in-chief, devised a system of currency, sought foreign alliances, and issued a "Declaration of Causes for Taking up Arms."

THE ROAD TO INDEPENDENCE

The extreme radicals, who first championed independence, found it difficult to convert their fellows to the idea of separation from Great Britain.

Delay in Declaring Independence. Fifteen months elapsed after hostilities began before the Continental Congress severed the imperial ties. The reasons for this hesitation were numerous: (1) the sentimental attachment of the colonists to the British Empire; (2) the fear that anarchy or military despotism might supplant British authority; (3) the reluctance of the merchants to lose their commercial privileges within the empire; (4) the hope that the English Whigs might abandon parliamentary taxation of the colonies; and (5) the inertia of the masses and the lack of a specific mandate to their representatives in Congress.

Developing Desire for Separation. The movement for independent status slowly gathered force in the colonies.

Resentment against British Methods. The colonists were incensed by the action of the British government in

hiring mercenaries to fight Englishmen in America and by the attempts of British agents to incite Indian raids on frontier settlements.

Revolutionary Propaganda. Press and pulpit pointed out the inconsistency of protesting loyalty to Great Britain, while British troops were despoiling American territory. Thomas Paine's pamphlet *Common Sense* was an effective plea for independence.

Enthusiasm over Military Success. In the spring of 1776 the patriots overestimated the significance of the British evacuation of Boston.

Need for a Foreign Alliance. The imperative need for a foreign alliance caused many Americans to champion independence as a means of winning support from the French government.

The Irrevocable Step. During the spring of 1776 several local legislatures instructed their delegations in the Congress to work and vote for independence.

Lee's Resolutions. On June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee of Virginia moved that "these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states."

The Committee on Independence. Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston were appointed to draft a Declaration.

The Acceptance of Jefferson's Document. The Declaration, which was largely the work of Thomas Jefferson, was accepted on July 2 and the final draft was adopted on July 4, 1776.

The Declaration of Independence. The document which Jefferson formulated fell logically into two parts: first, a preamble containing an admirable statement of the natural rights philosophy, championed by John Locke and the English liberals of the late seventeenth century; and second, a

severe indictment of the policy of the British government in America, containing a bill of particular grievances.

The Effect of the Declaration. The Declaration was designed to strengthen the radical cause in America and to win foreign support for the American rebellion.

Patriots and Loyalists. The patriots now had a definite creed and by it they could test the loyalty of their fellow countrymen to the revolutionary movement. The distinction between Whigs and Tories (or Patriots and Loyalists) was, therefore, more sharply defined.

French Aid. The French government, little interested in the quarrel of the colonists with Great Britain, was willing to aid secretly in the disruption of the British Empire.

THE SINEWS OF WAR

The realization of independence was a task which required energy and efficiency in the government as well as victory on the field of battle.

Supporters of the Revolution. Reliable estimates indicate that only one-third of the colonial population energetically supported the movement for independence. In the northern colonies this group was recruited from the farmers, mechanics, and petty tradesmen. In the plantation districts it included many of the tidewater planters, who had quarreled with British officials over land and financial policies and who were deeply indebted to British merchants. Along the frontier the majority were supporters of the Revolution.

The Problem of the Loyalists. Probably one-third of the people in the colonies actively supported the British cause.

Defenders of British Policies. The Loyalists were recruited from: (1) the great landowners in the North; (2) the wealthier merchants; (3) the Crown officials: (4) the Angli-

can clergy and laity; (5) the professional classes and others dependent upon wealthy merchants or landlords.

THE PUNISHMENT OF THE LOYALISTS. The state governments created under the impetus of the revolutionary movement dealt severely with the Loyalists. Thousands were imprisoned, sent to detention camps, tarred and feathered, or banished.

THE CONFISCATION OF LOYALIST PROPERTY. Many of the states confiscated the real estate and personal property of Loyalists. New York, for example, probably got one-third as much from the sale of Loyalist property as it collected in taxes during the war years.

Revolutionary Finances. The Continental Congress did not have the power of taxation; therefore it resorted to various devices to raise revenue.

PAPER MONEY. By 1780 almost $242,000,000 had been issued in Continental bills of credit. It depreciated rapidly, about half of it being redeemed at one-fortieth of its face value.

REQUISITIONS ON THE STATES. The requests for specific sums, which the states were inclined to ignore, brought only $6,000,000 in specie into the Continental treasury.

DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN LOANS. Certificates similar to modern bonds were sold through loan offices in the various states. Foreign loans, totalling approximately $8,000,000, were placed in France, Holland, and Spain.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION. After experimenting with committees and treasury boards, Congress in 1781 selected Robert Morris as superintendent of finance.

The Military Establishment. The commander-in-chief of the Continental armies, Washington, had serious difficulties not only in conducting campaigns in the field, but also in persuading the committees of the Continental Congress to permit him to organize an effective fighting force.

THE ARMY. The congressional leaders relied upon the state militias until October, 1776, when they finally yielded to Washington's pleas that a national army be created. The nucleus of Continental troops, however, did not solve such difficulties as the inexperience of militia levies, the lack of competent officers, and the jealousies between the various states over military affairs. Too many of the hardships of the armies were caused by incompetent or negligent officials, bad management, and the refusal of the people to sell food and clothing for depreciated paper money.

THE NAVY. Although American privateers wrought great havoc among British merchantmen, sending insurance rates soaring, and although John Paul Jones won several naval engagements and for a time terrorized the North Sea, the rebellious colonists had no sea power worthy the name until the French navy came to their aid in 1780. At least two thousand privateers and thirty-four commissioned ships of war constituted the naval force in the early years of the war.

THE FIELD OF BATTLE

Despite Washington's courageous leadership and the British military blunders, the realization of independence might have been long postponed had it not been for the aid of the French government.

The Campaign of 1776. Sir William Howe and his brother, Admiral Richard Howe, unsympathetic with the purposes of the Tory ministry in England, failed to conduct a vigorous campaign in America, preferring by overtures of peace to persuade the colonists to abandon the struggle.

THE BATTLE OF LONG ISLAND. On August 27, 1776, the British defeated Putnam's division of Washington's army on Brooklyn Heights, but failed to prevent the escape of the American forces across the East River. Howe leisurely followed Washington northward, content with slight skirmishes at Harlem Heights and White Plains.

THE RETREAT ACROSS NEW JERSEY. The Americans were compelled to abandon Forts Washington and Lee on the Hudson. Washington fell back across New Jersey, while Howe distributed certificates of loyalty to those who were willing to desert the patriot cause.

TRENTON AND PRINCETON. On Christmas night, 1776, Washington surprised the Hessians at Trenton, taking a thousand prisoners. Outwitting Cornwallis, he defeated the British at Princeton and went into winter quarters at Morristown.

The British Scheme to Sever the Colonies (1777). The British War Office planned to send Burgoyne south from Canada via Lake Champlain, St. Leger east from Lake Ontario via the Mohawk Valley, and Howe northward from New York. The concentration of British forces at Albany would cut the colonies in two.

HOWE'S ATTACK ON PHILADELPHIA. Howe failed to carry out this campaign. Instead he sailed from New York for the Delaware and entered Philadelphia after having defeated Washington at Brandywine Creek and Germantown.

ST. LEGER'S FAILURE. The Americans under Herkimer checked St. Leger's advance at Fort Stanwix and the British general abandoned his attempt to reach Albany.

BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER. Burgoyne fought his way from Ticonderoga while the embattled farmers of New York and New England harrassed his regiments and broke his lines of communication. On October 17, 1777, he surrendered to General Gates at Saratoga the five thousand men who were left in his army.

The French Alliance. The news of Saratoga induced the French court to make a formal treaty of alliance with the United States.

SECRET FRENCH AID. Silas Deane, Arthur Lee, and Benjamin Franklin found the French willing to give secret aid

to the revolting American colonies. Ammunition, clothing, shoes, and other supplies went from France in a steady stream during 1777.

Franklin and Beaumarchais. In the versatile Beaumarchais, playwright and amateur diplomat, who urged the French minister, Vergennes, to form an alliance with the United States, Franklin had an invaluable ally in promoting the cause of his country in France.

The Treaty of 1778. On February 6, 1778, France recognized the independence of the United States and signed a military alliance and a treaty of commerce with the new nation. Spain and Holland followed France in declaring war on Great Britain.

The Military Stalemate. The Franco-American alliance caused Great Britain to redouble its efforts, but neither side for three years was able to deliver a decisive blow.

Washington's Strategy. After the terrible winter (1777-1778) at Valley Forge, Washington took the offensive, fighting the indecisive battle of Monmouth (June, 1778) and then occupying a strong position in the highlands of the Hudson. For three years he fought no important engagement.

The War in the South. Hoping to win support from the Loyalists of the Carolinas and Georgia, the British transferred the war to the South. They captured Savannah (1778), occupied Charleston (1780), and won a brilliant victory under Cornwallis at Camden. Although the British managed to hold the seaport towns in the Carolinas, they were unable to make their control effective because of the work of such guerrilla leaders as Marion, Sumter, and Pickens. At King's Mountain the British and their Loyalist allies were defeated by the Carolina frontiersmen.

The West (1777-1779). The gloomy years of British campaigning in the South were relieved by the success of American troops in the Northwest. Virginia's outpost, Ken-

tucky, had been ravaged by Indian raids, and the Kentuckians were eager to strike the British posts north of the Ohio. George Rogers Clark led American troops against Kaskaskia and Vincennes (1778-1779) and broke British power in that area.

YORKTOWN. The American leaders, depressed by Benedict Arnold's attempt to deliver West Point to the enemy, were heartened in 1780 by Lafayette's success in persuading Louis

XVI to send Rochambeau and a French army to America. Additional French troops came with Admiral de Grasse in 1781. Late in the summer Washington and Rochambeau cooperating with de Grasse struck a decisive blow. They trapped Cornwallis at Yorktown, after his Carolina and Virginia campaigns, and compelled him to surrender on October 19, 1781.

DISRUPTION OF BRITAIN'S EMPIRE

During the closing years of the Revolutionary War the conflict developed into an attempt to weaken Great Britain's predominant position in world affairs. So important were the non-American aspects of the struggle that England was eager in 1782 to make peace with her colonies.

Proposals of Rockingham Ministry. Early in 1782 the North ministry fell and the Rockingham Whigs assumed power. Great Britain, now at war with France, Spain, and Holland, and embarrassed by the hostile attitude of the Armed Neutrality of the North (Russia, Denmark, and Sweden), tried to secure peace by granting France concessions in India and by promising the Americans a return to the imperial relations prior to 1763.

Anglo-American Negotiations. The American representatives in Paris (Franklin, John Adams, and Jay) refused to consider any peace proposals without recognition of the independence of the United States.

French Policy. Although France supported the American commissioners in their demand for independence, the French ministers were willing to support Spain in its insistence that the new nation be limited to the region east of the Alleghenies.

Attitude of the American Commissioners. Fearful that France would betray their interests in the matter of boundaries, the Americans ignored the terms of the French

Alliance and reached tentative terms of peace without consulting Vergennes, the French minister.

The Treaty of Paris (1783). Great Britain in the definitive treaty recognized the independence of the United States and its claim to the territory westward to the Mississippi and from the Canadian border to Florida. The Americans were confirmed in their fishing privileges off Newfoundland and adjacent territories. From the United States the British secured pledges that: (1) no legal impediments would be placed in the way of British creditors seeking to collect sums owed by American debtors; (2) Congress would urge the states to restore to the Loyalists their confiscated property; (3) navigation of the Mississippi from source to mouth would be open to subjects of Great Britain and the United States.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How do you explain the fact that fifteen months elapsed after the outbreak of hostilities before the Declaration of Independence was adopted?
2. What was the source of the political theory contained in the Declaration of Independence?
3. Discuss the statement that the American Revolution was the work of an energetic minority.
4. What effect did the Declaration of Independence have upon the efforts of Americans to secure an alliance with France?
5. Explain the attitude of the British Whigs toward the American Revolution.
6. Discuss the relations of England, France, Holland, and Spain during the Revolutionary War.
7. What factors complicated the peace negotiations for the American representatives?
8. How do you account for the success of the American negotiators in their discussions with the British delegates in 1782-1783?

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Significant Dates

Mount Vernon Conference	1785
Shays' Rebellion	1786
Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia	1787
Northwest Ordinance	1787

CHAPTER VIII

ESTABLISHING THE NEW NATION

POLITICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Despite the transformation wrought by the Revolutionary struggle, the life of the new nation was deeply rooted in the colonial experience of the several states.

The Independent States. The overwhelming majority of the three and a quarter million people in the United States were cultivators of the soil, living within two hundred miles of the Atlantic Coast from Maine to Georgia.

THE RESULTS OF THE REVOLUTION. The social consequences of the Revolution were quite as important as the political. The economic upheaval of war was either directly or indirectly responsible for (1) the enrichment of certain groups through privateering, speculation, and profiteering in

army contracts; (2) the stimulation of manufacturing; (3) the tendency to break up large estates into small holdings; (4) the revision of laws of inheritance; (5) the removal of British restraints on industry and commerce; (6) the growth of the spirit of religious toleration.

THE STATE GOVERNMENTS. In May, 1776, the Continental Congress recommended that the colonies set up new frameworks of government. Already New Hampshire and South Carolina had adopted new constitutions. These written fundamental laws were in some instances merely revisions of the colonial charters. They generally stressed the "natural rights" philosophy of the period, contained an elaborate "bill of rights" guaranteeing the rights of the governed, and provided for a division of powers among executive, legislative, and judicial departments. Control of government continued to be in the hands of the property holders.

The Articles of Confederation. As soon as the colonies decided to take the path to independence, the Continental Congress, which served as an intercolonial steering committee for the war, authorized a committee of thirteen to draft articles of more permanent union.

PRECEDENTS FOR INTERCOLONIAL UNION. The colonies had made tentative ventures in federation in the New England Confederation (1643), the Albany Congress (1754), and the First and Second Continental Congresses.

THE STRUCTURE OF THE CONFEDERATION GOVERNMENT. The Articles of Confederation provided for a league between sovereign states. Each state had one vote in the federal Congress, and unanimous consent was necessary for amendment. Congress was empowered to borrow money, regulate the currency, establish a postal service, regulate Indian affairs, and settle interstate disputes. Congress assumed all financial obligations of the Continental Congress.

DEFECTS OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM. The failure of the fundamental law to confer adequate powers upon Congress

became apparent soon after the Articles were ratified. The serious omissions were: absence of a federal executive and judiciary; the failure to give Congress power to levy taxes, to regulate foreign and interstate commerce, or to enforce its laws.

Creation of a National Domain. Ratification of the Articles of Confederation, which were drafted in 1777, was not secured until 1781. Maryland refused to agree to the federal arrangement until the states claiming western lands consented to cede them to the central government.

Western Land Claims. The colonial charters of six of the states had granted them indefinite westward extension. When the Revolution wiped out the Proclamation Line of 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774, these states sought to extend their authority to the Mississippi. New York, basing its claims on treaties with the Iroquois, led the way in surrendering its western claims in 1780. The other states followed suit. All cessions were not concluded, however, until 1802.

Ordinance of 1784. As soon as the Treaty of Paris had confirmed the title of the United States to the region between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, the Confederation Congress adopted an ordinance, proposed by Thomas Jefferson, guaranteeing that the territory should be divided into states and admitted into the Union as soon as population warranted.

Ordinance of 1785. This legislation, applying to the region northwest of the Ohio, provided that surveys should divide the land into townships six miles square, and each township into thirty-six sections of 640 acres.

The Northwest Ordinance (1787). Congress passed this ordinance as a result of the effective lobbying of Manasseh Cutler, agent of the Ohio Company of Associates, who secured 5,000,000 acres for his company. Applying to the Northwest Territory, the law provided for the creation of not

less than three nor more than five states; for the erection of territorial governments; and for the exclusion of slavery, the support of public education, and the maintenance of religious freedom.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

The critical years from 1783 to 1787 were filled with economic problems implicit in a period of postwar deflation and reconstruction.

Governmental Finances. Without the power of taxation Congress had to rely upon requisitions, which the state governments frequently failed to meet. The national debt steadily increased, while sums were borrowed to pay current operating expenses. So low was the credit of the government in 1786 that domestic and foreign loans could be obtained only with great difficulty at exorbitant interest rates. Congress could not induce the states to grant it adequate sources of revenue.

Commercial Depression. The fictitious prosperity of the war years collapsed within a year of the treaty of peace.

Foreign Trade. The heavy importation of European goods immediately after the war drained specie from the country. The means of replenishing it was lacking, because Great Britain barred American ships and many products from her ports in the West Indies and in Europe. Spain and France also closed their West Indian islands to American ships.

Interstate Commerce. Lack of a uniform currency handicapped the merchants interested in domestic markets. Paper money was uncertain in value and easily counterfeited. Specie was scarce and made up of bewildering varieties of coins. Between the states tariff barriers hindered rather than encouraged commercial intercourse.

The Debtor's Plight. With the depression came a fall in prices and a rise in the value of money. Debtors found

themselves unable to secure funds with which to pay interest, settle mortgages, or meet tax assessments. In Rhode Island they secured control of the government and inflated the currency with large issues of paper. In Massachusetts they failed to protect their interests by law. Shays' Rebellion (1786) was an attempt to prevent the courts from granting judgments against debtors and from conducting proceedings for the foreclosure of mortgages.

Ineffective Diplomacy. The new nation had difficult diplomatic problems to settle with Great Britain and Spain.

Difficulties with Great Britain. In violation of the Treaty of 1783 the British refused to abandon the fur-trading posts along the southern shores of the Great Lakes. In justification they claimed that Americans had not indemnified the Loyalists nor paid the debts due to British merchants. They refused to open their West Indian ports to American ships or to send an accredited minister to the United States.

Negotiations with Spain. Holding the mouth of the Mississippi, Spain controlled the commerce of the great river which was indispensable to American pioneers as an outlet for their crops. When the Jay-Gardoqui agreement of 1785, which was never ratified, failed to give our western settlers free navigation of the Mississippi, Kentuckians and Tennesseeans threatened either to leave the Union or to wage war against the Spanish settlements.

CREATING A NEW GOVERNMENT

The political, economic, and diplomatic difficulties of the nation in the critical years contributed to the strength of the movement to revise the Articles of Confederation.

Campaign for Governmental Change. The refusal of the state legislatures to approve amendments designed to give Congress larger powers over commerce and finance gave impetus to those economic forces determined to establish a strong central government.

Economic Interests. Among the propertied classes the desire for governmental reform was voiced by such groups as: (1) holders of government securities, who desired a government able to meet its financial obligations; (2) manufacturers, who desired a monopoly of the home market behind adequate tariff walls; (3) merchants, who desired a government powerful enough to secure commercial concessions from foreign governments; (4) financiers, who feared the inflationist tendencies of the state legislatures; (5) land speculators, who demanded that the government quiet Indian troubles on the frontier and open their lands to settlement.

Preliminary Conferences. In March, 1785, committees from the Maryland and Virginia legislatures met at Mount Vernon to discuss navigation of the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay. They decided to invite all the states to confer on commercial problems of the Confederation. The Annapolis Conference (1786) was attended by delegates from five states, who adopted a report by Alexander Hamilton, calling a convention of all the states to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787, to devise an adequate constitution for the federal government. The Confederation Congress tardily endorsed this call.

The Philadelphia Convention of 1787. The fifty-five men who attended the meetings at Philadelphia were among the "first characters" of the country. They were representatives of the propertied interests and most of them had already distinguished themselves in the service of their respective states.

Leadership of the Convention. Despite the high level of competence in the Convention, certain delegates revealed peculiar ability in the discussions. From Virginia came James Madison and George Mason; from Pennsylvania came Benjamin Franklin, James Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris. Other leaders were John Dickinson of Delaware, Luther Martin of Maryland, William Paterson of New Jersey, the Pinckneys of South Carolina, and Alexander Hamilton of New York. George Washington presided.

PLANS FOR GOVERNMENTAL REORGANIZATION. The delegates were agreed whatever the form of federal government they devised, it must be able to levy taxes, regulate commerce, protect private property, pay the national debt, coin and borrow money, and provide for the national defense. Two major plans were presented:

VIRGINIA PLAN (LARGE STATES)	NEW JERSEY PLAN (SMALL STATES)
This provided for a two-house legislature with representation apportioned to the states on the basis of population. The lower house was to be elected by popular vote and the upper house by the lower house.	This provided for a single legislative body in which the states would be equally represented.
The executive was to be chosen by the national legislature.	The executive was to consist of a committee chosen by the national legislature.
The judiciary of a supreme court and the inferior courts was to be chosen by the legislature.	A national judiciary was created.
The national legislature was to have power to pass upon the constitutionality of laws enacted by the states.	The national legislature was to have power to compel the states to obey its laws, and all acts of the national legislature were binding upon the courts of the various states.

THE "CONNECTICUT COMPROMISE." This proposal of the delegates from Connecticut provided that the differences of the large and small states should be reconciled in a national legislature, the lower house of which should represent the states according to population, and the upper house of which should be based upon equal representation of the states.

The Constitution. The delegates at Philadelphia concluded their secret deliberations on September 17, 1787, and made public the document which had been put into literary form by Gouverneur Morris.

THE STRUCTURE OF GOVERNMENT. The completed document provided for a President, to be named by a college of electors chosen in such fashion as the legislatures of the

various states might direct; a Congress of two houses, the lower composed of popularly elected representatives apportioned according to population (including three-fifths of the slaves), and the upper composed of two senators from each state elected by the state legislatures; and a Supreme Court and such inferior courts as Congress might create, the judges to be appointed for life by the President with the consent of the Senate.

THE ROLE OF THE STATES. Under the Confederation the states could ignore or defy the measures of Congress with impunity. This defect was remedied in the Constitution by obliging the officials of every state to take an oath to support the Constitution, by pledging the state courts to recognize the Constitution and the laws and treaties made under it as the supreme law, and by bringing the citizens of every state under the direct authority of the United States through the federal courts.

THE POWERS OF CONGRESS. The strength of the new federal government was implicit in the extensive powers, exclusive and concurrent, which were given to Congress. Particularly important were such powers as taxation, regulation of interstate and foreign commerce, control of the army and navy, and supervision of foreign relations.

The Campaign for Ratification. There was immediate and widespread opposition to the new Constitution, necessitating an intensive campaign in many states in order to secure its ratification by the special conventions to which it was submitted.

CRITICISM OF THE CONSTITUTION. Among the numerous arguments against ratification of the work of the Philadelphia Convention the following were significant: (1) the proposed government had been secretly fashioned by the representatives of a propertied aristocracy; (2) the delegates had gone beyond their powers in writing a new framework of government; (3) the document contained no "bill of rights" to pro-

tect the citizen against tyranny; (4) the powers granted to the central government were so great that the states would be reduced to dependent provinces; and (5) the rights of property and not the rights of man were emphasized in the Constitution.

THE STRENGTH OF THE FEDERALISTS. The Federalists, as the supporters of the proposed Constitution were called, were able to mobilize powerful forces in the struggle over ratification. They enlisted most of the business and financial interests, the professional classes, and the influential newspaper editors. They had money, they were well organized, and they were led by some of the most prominent men in the country.

BITTERNESS OF THE CONTEST. Delaware, Connecticut, New Jersey, and Georgia ratified promptly, while the victories for ratification in Maryland and South Carolina were large. But in Massachusetts, Virginia, Pennsylvania, and New York the fight was close and bitter. North Carolina and Rhode Island had not yet ratified when Washington took the oath of office in 1789.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What is the importance of the Articles of Confederation in our constitutional history?
2. Explain how the federal government came into the possession of a national domain.
3. Discuss the economic conditions of the country during the "critical years."
4. What groups were eager for the continued inflation of the currency? Why?
5. Why was Shays' Rebellion an important factor in spurring on the leaders who demanded a new framework of government?
6. What economic interests were represented at the Philadelphia Convention of 1787?
7. By what device were the provisions of the Constitution made binding upon the citizens of the various states?
8. Who opposed the ratification of the Constitution in New England? In New York? In Virginia?

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Significant Dates

Inauguration of George Washington	1789
Establishment of the First Bank of the United States	1791
Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality	1793
Ratification of Jay's Treaty	1795
Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions	1798

CHAPTER IX

THE FEDERALIST REGIME

ESTABLISHING PRECEDENTS

The testing of the Constitution during the early years of the new Republic was fortunately conducted by officials who were anxious to see the new government succeed. The Federalists were in power from 1789 to 1801.

Organizing the Government. The Congress which assembled in 1789 speedily undertook the task of providing necessary legislation, while the executive officers were busy establishing precedents in governmental routine.

CONGRESSIONAL LEGISLATION. Congress answered the demand for revenue by passing the Tariff Act of 1789. It created the departments of State, Treasury, and War, and other administrative posts. The Judiciary Act of 1789 was the basis for the organization of the Supreme Court and the creation of the federal circuit and district courts.

Constitutional Amendments. From more than one hundred proposals Congress selected twelve amendments to the Constitution and referred them to the state legislatures for ratification. Ten were ratified by 1791 and became the so-called "bill of rights" protecting the citizen against possible tyranny in the federal government.

Presidential Appointments. Washington named Thomas Jefferson, Secretary of State; Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; and Henry Knox, Secretary of War. For his legal adviser he chose Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General. John Jay became the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

The Hamiltonian System. As Secretary of the Treasury, Hamilton prepared a remarkable series of papers dealing with the public credit of the new nation.

The Debt. His plans concerning the debt called for the payment of the face value of the federal obligations, those held both by foreigners and by citizens of the United States. He also persuaded Congress to assume the debts of the states on the ground that such debts had been contracted during the Revolutionary period in a common cause.

The Revenue. By his plan of refunding the debts, Hamilton managed to reduce interest charges and thus effected a saving for the government. His revenue plans included: (1) import duties; (2) proceeds from the sale of western lands; (3) excise taxes, especially on liquors.

The Currency. In order to establish a sound currency Hamilton proposed, and Congress after long debate passed, a bill for the creation of a Bank of the United States (1791), with $10,000,000 capital stock, one-fifth subscribed by the government and the remainder by the public. The Bank was authorized to issue notes, backed by specie and government securities. The Mint Act of 1792 followed Hamilton's proposal that the government coin gold and silver at a ratio of

fifteen to one. The gold dollar, which was the standard, was to contain 24¾ grains of pure gold.

PROTECTIVE TARIFF. Hamilton's *Report on Manufactures* strongly urged the adoption of a protective tariff to aid American industries and to stimulate new industries which might develop under favorable conditions. The Revenue Act of 1792 failed to place the rates as high as he desired them to be.

The Development of Parties. The struggle in Congress over such issues as the assumption of state debts, the Bank, the excise law, and the protective tariff accentuated the differences between the financial and commercial interests on one side and the farmers and mechanics on the other.

OPPOSING GROUPS. The distinction between the groups which tended to support Hamilton (Federalist) and Jefferson (Republican) may be summarized as follows:

FEDERALIST	REPUBLICAN
a. Merchants, bankers, manufacturers, and holders of large estates.	a. Farmers, artisans, mechanics, and small shopkeepers.
b. Strong in the commercial towns and the tidewater plantations of the South.	b. Strong in the farming communities of the North and the frontier sections of the South.
c. Supporting a broad interpretation of the Constitution to give the central government more power.	c. Inclined toward a strict interpretation of the Constitution to limit the powers of the central government.
d. Friendly toward Great Britain in foreign policies.	d. Friendly toward France in foreign policies.

FIRST TRIALS OF STRENGTH. The Hamiltonian system went before the electorate for endorsement in the election of 1792. Though Washington was unanimously re-elected, the Federalists lost control of the House of Representatives and had a majority of only twenty-three electoral votes for their Vice-President, John Adams.

The Protection of the Frontier. The control of the Indian tribes along the frontier was one of the most pressing problems of the Washington administration.

Restlessness of the Northwestern Tribes. British influence at the fur posts along the Great Lakes was not conducive to peaceful relations between American settlers and the tribes in the Northwest Territory. General St. Clair was defeated in 1791, but three years later General Wayne won a decisive victory at Fallen Timbers. In 1795 he signed the Treaty of Greenville whereby the Indians gave up claim to the southeastern corner of the Northwest Territory and such strategic points as Vincennes, Detroit, and Chicago.

The Southwest. Spanish intrigue from Louisiana and Florida caused the Creeks and Seminoles to denounce their treaties of 1790-1791 with the United States and increased the desire of the government at Washington to reach a settlement with Spain.

TESTING DIPLOMATIC STRENGTH

When the government was reorganized under the Constitution, it fell heir to the diplomatic controversies with Great Britain, France, and Spain which had troubled the Confederation. The situation was rendered more difficult by the outbreak of war in Europe between the French Republic and a coalition of powers headed by Great Britain.

Washington's Proclamation of Neutrality (1793). By the terms of our treaty of alliance with France (1778) we had promised to aid the French in protecting the French West Indies against British attack.

Genêt's Mission. Edmond Genêt, rash agent of the French Republic, landed in Charleston early in April, 1793. Calling upon the United States to fulfill the terms of its alliance with France, he started to fit out privateers, enlist seamen, and carry out belligerent plans before he had presented his credentials.

Neutrality. The Washington administration received Genêt, but issued a proclamation forbidding our citizens to

"take part in any hostilities on land or sea with any of the belligerent powers." When Genêt failed to abide by the Proclamation and the Neutrality Act passed by Congress, the administration demanded that he be recalled. Hamilton defended our policy on the ground that our alliance of 1778 was with the government of Louis XVI, not the revolutionary forces, and that it pledged us to defend France in the West Indies, not to support a France proclaiming a general war against European monarchies.

Jay's Treaty (1795). Our grievances against Great Britain were aggravated by the war in Europe.

British Offenses. The catalogue of British offenses included: (1) her refusal to evacuate the northwestern fur posts under the terms of the treaty of 1783; (2) her policy of keeping the Indian tribes hostile to the American government; (3) her failure to open her West Indian ports freely to American commerce; (4) her seizures of our ships trading with the French West Indies; (5) her impressment of our seamen into British service.

Unsatisfactory Negotiations. Jay's discussions with Lord Grenville resulted in a treaty in which the British (1) agreed to surrender the fur posts by June, 1796; (2) opened their East Indian ports to the United States; (3) made meager concessions in the West Indian trade. No mention was made of the seizure of our ships or the impressment of our seamen. The question of debts owed to British creditors by Americans and of American claims for damages to our shipping were referred to arbitral commissions. The treaty was so unpopular that the Federalists had difficulty in getting the Senate to ratify.

Pinckney's Treaty. The negotiations of Jay at London convinced the Spanish government that the United States and Great Britain were drawing closer together and Spain hastened to settle her differences with the United States. Thomas Pinckney in October, 1795, signed the Treaty of

San Lorenzo whereby Spain (1) recognized the 31st parallel as the boundary of Florida; (2) promised to restrain the Indians from attacking our borders; (3) granted free navigation of the Mississippi with the right of deposit at New Orleans free of duty.

Controversy with France. The news of the Jay Treaty aroused intense indignation in Paris, where Monroe had assured the French government that no treaty would be signed with England.

THE XYZ AFFAIR. Charles C. Pinckney, who succeeded Monroe at Paris (1797), was not allowed to remain on French soil. President Adams finally sent John Marshall (Federalist) and Elbridge Gerry (Republican) to join Pinckney (Federalist). This commission was waited upon by the agents of Talleyrand (X, Y, and Z), who demanded a bribe to secure a favorable treaty with France.

THE UNDECLARED WAR (1798). News of the insult to the American Commissioners stirred the country to war fever. Harbors were fortified, frigates built, the army enlarged, Washington called to chief command. During 1798 more than eighty French armed vessels were seized by our privateers and warships.

THE CONVENTION OF 1800. Neither the French Directory nor President Adams wanted war. A new commission (Murray, Ellsworth, and Davies) was appointed and reached France in 1800. Napoleon, now in power, signed a convention permitting us to abrogate the treaty of alliance of 1778 and providing for the regulation of commerce and maritime relations between the two nations.

PARTY BATTLES

While our diplomats were slowly winning recognition for us in the family of nations, the trend of political developments in the United States was weakening the Federalists and trans-

ferring power to the farmers, small traders, and mechanics who supported Thomas Jefferson.

The Decline of the Federalists. In 1793 Jefferson resigned from Washington's cabinet and began the systematic organization of the Republican party which was to be the undoing of the Federalists.

THE WHISKEY REBELLION (1794). When the farmers of western Pennsylvania, who distilled their grain and sold the liquor, revolted against the payment of Hamilton's excise tax, the Republicans criticized the government at every point. They argued (1) that the excise was an unnecessarily burdensome tax imposed on the farmers for the benefit of the capitalists; (2) that the government had magnified a local riot into an assault on the nation's security by sending troops to quell the disturbance.

RESENTMENT OVER THE JAY TREATY. The Republicans were quick to denounce the Federalists for their policy of yielding to Great Britain. Jefferson's newspaper supporters pictured the Jay treaty as an alliance with Great Britain, which had alienated our real friend, France.

THE ADAMS-HAMILTON FEUD. Although Adams defeated Jefferson by three votes in the electoral college in 1796, there was serious dissension in the Federalist party. The followers of Hamilton, including Pickering, Wolcott, and McHenry in Adams' cabinet, were hostile to the President and sought to minimize his leadership in the party.

THE ALIEN AND SEDITION LAWS (1798). During the war fever of 1798 the Federalists passed a series of laws which served as a boomerang. Since the laws were based on the theory that they were a wartime necessity, the peaceful settlement with France removed the reason for their enactment. The laws were: (1) a Naturalization Act requiring all aliens to live fourteen years in the country before they could become citizens; (2) Alien Acts giving the President power

to remove from the country any alien deemed dangerous to the country; (3) a Sedition Act punishing with fines or imprisonment persons conspiring to oppose the execution of the laws or publishing false or malicious writings concerning the President or the government. The Republicans immediately condemned this legislation.

THE KENTUCKY AND VIRGINIA RESOLUTIONS. The Kentucky Resolutions, written by Jefferson, and the Virginia Resolutions, prepared by Madison, declared that the legislation of 1798 was void and of no effect, because it violated the Constitution. The resolutions, claiming that the states could prevent the federal government from exercising unwarranted powers, became campaign material for the Republicans.

The Political Revolution of 1800. The presidential campaign was bitterly contested by the Federalists, torn with factional strife, and the Republicans, ably led by Jefferson.

RESULT IN THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE. The electioneering brought unprecedented numbers to the polls, as Jefferson waged a campaign to "get out the vote." Adams carried New England, New Jersey, Delaware, and parts of Maryland and North Carolina. He had sixty-five votes to seventy-three for Jefferson.

THE BURR INTRIGUE. Since all the Republican electors had voted for both Jefferson and Burr, the two were tied in the electoral vote. The election was thus thrown into the House, where certain Federalist leaders connived with Burr to prevent the election of Jefferson. Thirty-six ballots were required before Jefferson was elected President and Burr Vice-President. The Twelfth Amendment changed the method of electing the President and prevented the recurrence of the tie of 1800.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF JEFFERSON'S ELECTION. The election of Jefferson was more than the substitution of a Republican administration for a Federalist one. It meant the re-

pudiation of government by "the rich, the well-born, and the able" and the triumph of the theory that government could safely be entrusted to the mass of the people who were being educated in democracy.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the justice and practicability of Hamilton's plan for establishing the credit of the United States on a sound basis.
2. What was the nature and purpose of the First Bank of the United States?
3. What were the important issues between the Federalists and the Republicans (1793-1799)?
4. Why were we on the verge of war with Great Britain in 1794? How was it averted?
5. Explain Spain's reasons for meeting Pinckney's demands in 1795. What were the chief provisions of the Treaty of San Lorenzo?
6. What was the significance of the Whiskey Rebellion? Why were such extensive arrangements made to suppress the riots?
7. How did the Alien and Sedition laws weaken the Federalist Party?
8. What were the reasons for the dissension within the Federalist ranks, 1796-1800?
9. Discuss the significance of the election of 1800.

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Significant Dates

Inauguration of Thomas Jefferson	1801
Purchase of Louisiana	1803
Embargo Act	1807
War with England	1812
Hartford Convention	1814

CHAPTER X

THE JEFFERSONIANS

THE POLICIES OF AGRARIAN REPUBLICANS

The Federalists feared that Jefferson's election in 1800 would inaugurate a turbulent era in American affairs, but the first four years of Republican rule were tranquil and prosperous.

Jefferson's Program. Thomas Jefferson was no radical democrat. His program was conciliatory and his reform measures moderate.

PERSONNEL. Jefferson chose his disciple, James Madison of Virginia, for Secretary of State, and Albert Gallatin of Pennsylvania for Secretary of the Treasury. In the civil service Federalists gradually gave way to Republicans, and New England lost its predominant position in governmental circles.

Republican Simplicity. The aristocratic precedents, established by Washington and cherished by John Adams, were replaced by a new code of simplicity and frugality.

Financial Retrenchment. Gallatin in the Treasury Department co-operated with Jefferson in a program of economy. Under their leadership the financial policy included: (1) the repeal of the internal revenue taxes; (2) retrenchment in military and diplomatic expenditures; (3) strict accounting in the expenditure of all appropriations; (4) rapid reduction of the principal of the national debt. Gallatin's plan to cut naval expenditures was halted by the Tripolitan War (1802-1805) to punish the Barbary states of North Africa for their plundering of our commerce.

Restraining the Judiciary. The Republicans, regarding the federal judiciary as the stronghold of Federalism, were hostile to the growing power of the courts and their Federalist judges. The Judiciary Act of 1800, which had created new judicial posts, was repealed. Impeachment proceedings were launched against several Federalist judges. John Pickering of the Federal District Court in New Hampshire was removed; Samuel Chase of the Supreme Court was impeached, but acquitted.

The Louisiana Purchase. Jefferson's first administration was notable for the extension of our national domain to the Rocky Mountains.

American Interest in Louisiana. Expansionists looked upon the territory west of the Mississippi as an area for future growth of the United States. Its possession was important in determining control of the Mississippi Valley, a control which vitally affected the commerce of 50,000 Americans in the valleys of the Ohio and the Tennessee. The news that Louisiana had been ceded by Spain to France alarmed Jefferson lest the port of New Orleans be closed.

Napoleon's Colonial Scheme. Spain's cession of Louisiana to France by the secret Treaty of San Ildefonso (1800)

was part of Napoleon's plan to re-create the French colonial empire in America. His plans did not prosper, and in 1802, as he saw the possibility of renewal of war with Great Britain, he was ready to sell the province at the moment that Jefferson was trying to purchase the port of New Orleans.

THE TREATY OF CESSION (1803). Congress appropriated $2,000,000 for the acquisition of New Orleans and named Monroe to join Robert R. Livingston in Paris. On May 2, 1803, a treaty was signed whereby the United States secured the province of Louisiana for $14,500,000.

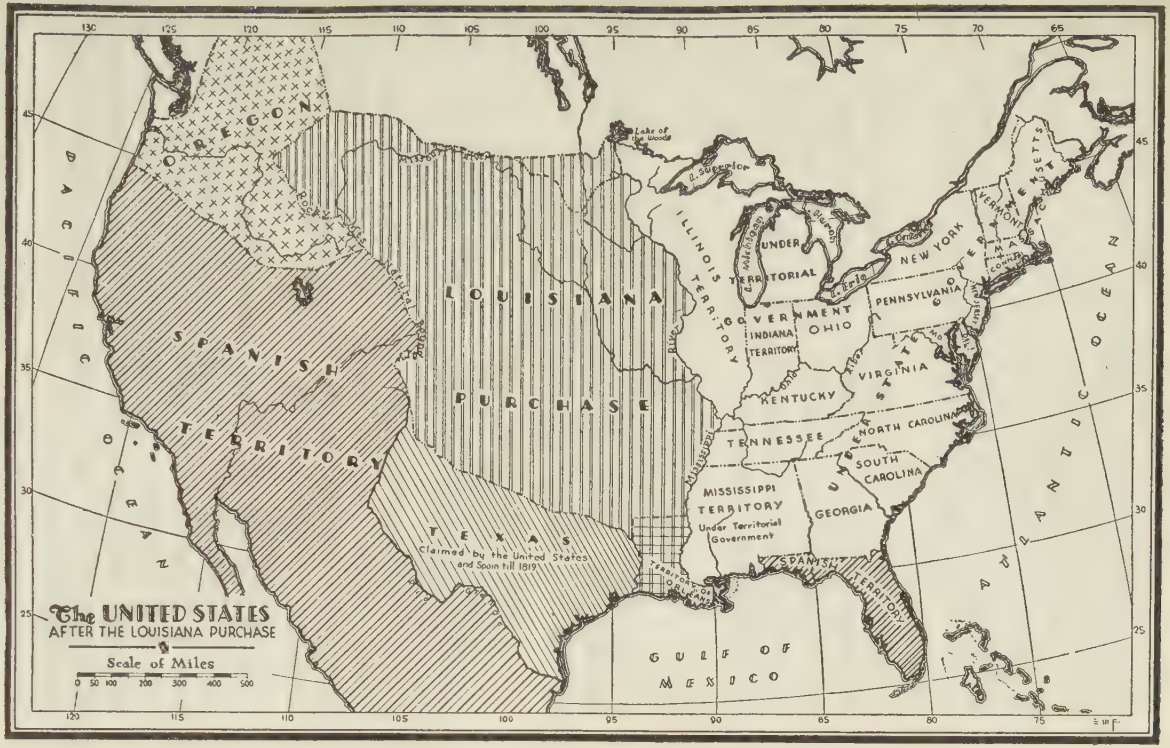
THE TERRITORY OF ORLEANS. Although Jefferson doubted the constitutionality of the purchase, he put aside his scruples and asked Congress to ratify the treaty. The acquisition was immensely popular despite protests from some Federalists. Congress erected the region around New Orleans into the Territory of Orleans and placed its government in the hands of the President.

THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION. Congress appropriated funds for an exploration of the territory beyond the Mississippi, and Jefferson named Meriwether Lewis and William Clark to lead an expedition up the Missouri, across the great divide, and into the valley of the Columbia. These explorers (1804-1806) established our best claims to the Oregon Country in our later dispute with England.

Naval Policies. Jefferson's attitude toward the navy was largely determined by his desire for economy in governmental expenditures.

THE "MOSQUITO FLEET." He proposed the construction of a large number of gunboats to be manned by a "naval militia," which could be hastily recruited when danger threatened. Many of the gunboats proved to be unseaworthy, but nine of them were sent to the Mediterranean in 1805.

THE WAR WITH TRIPOLI. The unscrupulous rulers of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli had long preyed upon Mediter-


The UNITED STATES
AFTER THE LOUISIANA PURCHASE
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
OREGON
SPANISH TERRITORY
LOUISIANA PURCHASE
TEXAS
Claimed by the United States and Spain till 1819
ILLINOIS TERRITORY
UNDER TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT
INDIANA TERRITORY
OHIO
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY
TENNESSEE
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
MISSISSIPPI TERRITORY
Under Territorial Government
SPANISH TERRITORY
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
PACIFIC OCEAN
VERMONT
MASSACHUSETTS
CONN.
Lake of the Woods
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario

ranean commerce, offering to spare the ships of those countries which paid them an annual tribute. Jefferson determined to put an end to the humiliating system by a show of force. An American squadron between 1802 and 1805 successfully challenged these Barbary pirates, and Bainbridge, Somers, and Decatur, with the aid of William Eaton, American consul in Tunis, finally secured a treaty providing for "peace without tribute."

Commodore Decatur. With the outbreak of war in 1812, the Barbary corsairs once more challenged the United States. Commodore Decatur, sent to the African coast in 1815, finally dictated terms which ended for a long period the payment of ransom or tribute.

POLITICAL INTRIGUES

The political tranquility of Jefferson's first administration was succeeded by factional strife and political intrigue during his second term in the presidency.

Republican Factions. Local quarrels within the Republican party, especially in New York and Pennsylvania, were but the prelude to serious trouble in Congress.

John Randolph of Roanoke. This contentious Virginian, angered because Jefferson had pursued a conciliatory policy toward the Federalists, led a small group of antiadministration Republicans in the House.

West Florida. Randolph crossed swords with Jefferson over the West Florida controversy. The President insisted that the boundaries of Louisiana included the Spanish province of West Florida, but while he was trying to force Spain to admit his claim, he was urging Congress to grant him $2,000,000 to buy the province. Randolph bitterly attacked the President's plan.

The Yazoo Controversy. Randolph was more successful in his opposition to Jefferson's plan to handle the Yazoo land

claims. When Georgia ceded her western claims to the federal government, the United States inherited numerous law suits filed by purchasers of land from Yazoo land companies, whose original grants had been annulled by the Georgia legislature on the ground that they had been fraudulent. Jefferson favored an appropriation of public land to satisfy bona fide purchasers from the Yazoo companies. For ten years Randolph and his supporters blocked all settlement.

Federalist Intrigues. The New England Federalists, aware that the center of political power had shifted to the South and West, doubted the value of maintaining the Union.

THE COALITION WITH BURR. In the hope of joining New England and New York in an Eastern confederacy, the "die-hard" Federalists supported Burr for governor of New York in 1804. Their plot was defeated, however, through Hamilton's influence in the Federalist party. The unfortunate sequel for Hamilton was the fatal duel with Burr. For Burr the sequel was the romantic plotting in the West which terminated in the conspiracy trial of 1807.

THE ESSEX JUNTO. The inner council of Federalists, known as the Essex Junto, even deliberated upon the possibility of a union with Canada in order to escape from policies framed by Southern planters and Western farmers.

THE PERILS OF NEUTRALITY

As Napoleon strove to overcome Great Britain and her allies and to control all Europe, the United States vainly struggled to maintain its maritime rights as a neutral.

British Maritime Policies. British mercantile interests became alarmed at the rapid growth of American commerce and shipping after the termination of the Peace of Amiens (1803), when Europe had once more been plunged into war.

THE ESSEX DECISION (1805). This interpretation of the Rule of 1756 (a rule which forbade belligerents to open to

neutrals trade routes which were closed in peacetime) was aimed at the American carrying trade. It held that a neutral ship laden with enemy goods, destined ultimately for an enemy port, could not change the character of the voyage by landing in a neutral port and making a pretense of transshipping the goods. American ships, loading in French or Spanish West Indies with goods destined for France or Spain, could not make the shipment a neutral one by breaking the voyage at an American port.

Orders in Council. Taking full advantage of its superior sea power, Great Britain issued several orders which crippled the neutral traders quite as much as the enemy. The Fox Blockade (April, 1806) closed the ports of Northern Europe from the mouth of the Elbe to Brest; an order in council (January, 1807) forbade coastwise trade between ports in the power of France or its allies; and an order of November, 1807, blockaded all European ports from which the British flag was excluded and forced neutrals to trade with the Continent through Great Britain.

Impressment of Seamen. Great Britain persisted in her attempts to apprehend deserters from the British navy and merchant marine by stopping and searching American ships and removing suspected seamen. A flagrant example was the case of the *Chesapeake* (1807).

Napoleonic Retaliation. The British policy was the occasion for retaliatory decrees issued by Napoleon, which seriously hindered neutral carrying trade. The Berlin Decree (November, 1806) forbade all commerce with the British Isles and ordered the seizure of ships coming from England or her colonies to ports under French control. The Milan Decree (December, 1807) declared that all ships which paid a tax to the British government were "good prize." By subsequent decrees, Bayonne (1808), Rambouillet (1810), and Trianon (1810), Napoleon sequestered American vessels in French ports and confiscated their cargoes.

Jefferson's Peaceful Coercion. The warfare of orders and decrees seriously injured, though it did not ruin, the American carrying trade. Jefferson was convinced that some form of economic boycott would bring the belligerents to the point of honoring our neutrality.

NONINTERCOURSE ACT (1806). This measure excluded important British manufactures from our ports.

THE EMBARGO (1807). The failure of Monroe and William Pinkney to secure a satisfactory treaty in the spring of 1807, the *Chesapeake* affair, and the new orders in council persuaded Congress to place an embargo on all foreign commerce of the United States. It remained in effect until March, 1809, arousing more protests from the merchants of New England than from the commercial classes in Great Britain and France. Difficulties of enforcement prevented the embargo from being completely effective.

NONINTERCOURSE WITH GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE (1809). Fearful that civil strife might ensue if the embargo was continued, Congress repealed the act and opened our commerce with all the world except Great Britain and France.

Madison's Diplomacy. James Madison, who succeeded Thomas Jefferson in the presidency in 1809, hoped to negotiate a way out of the commercial impasse.

THE ERSKINE FIASCO. David Erskine, British minister at Washington, persuaded Madison and his Secretary of State, Robert Smith, that Great Britain would rescind its orders if we would reopen trade. Accordingly the President proclaimed resumption of commercial relations with Great Britain only to discover that Erskine had not stated all of the conditions demanded by the British ministry.

MACON'S BILL NO. 2. Congress with Madison's approval reopened trade with both France and Great Britain (1810), but stated that if either nation would cease "to violate the

neutral commerce of the United States," nonintercourse would be resumed against the other power.

Revival of Nonintercourse against Great Britain. Napoleon responded to Macon's Bill by announcing his intention of repealing his decrees. Thereupon Madison proclaimed nonintercourse with Great Britain unless she revoked her orders.

THE SECOND WAR WITH BRITAIN

The accumulation of grievances against Great Britain forced Madison to adopt a war policy in 1812, but none of the important differences between the two countries was settled as a result of the conflict.

Causes of the War of 1812. The demand for war came not from New England shipping interests, but primarily from the aggressive frontiersmen of the West and the planters of the South.

The Influence of Napoleonic Wars. Several aspects of the struggle between Great Britain and France strengthened the war factions. If the commercial interests were content to evade British and French regulations in the hope of extraordinary profits, many Americans deeply resented (1) the insolent diplomatic attitude of the British ministry; (2) the confiscation of American cargoes and interference with our trade; (3) the impressment of American seamen into the British navy.

The "War Hawks." Along the frontier the expansionists were eager to acquire territory. In the Northwest the "war hawks" championed a conflict with England as a means of enabling them to realize such ambitions as: (1) the disruption of the understanding between the Canadians and the Indians which menaced the Western settlements; (2) the control of the British fur trade; (3) the conquest of Canada. In the South and Southwest, the "war hawks" were attracted

by the possibility of securing Florida from Spain, now an ally of Great Britain.

TECUMSEH'S CONSPIRACY. The attempt of Tecumseh and his brother, the Prophet, to unite the Indians from the Great Lakes to the Gulf in opposition to the encroachments of the white man convinced the Westerners that British influence was responsible. When Harrison's troops, who broke the Indian power at Tippecanoe (1811), reported that the Indians had English guns and ammunition, the frontier was aflame with war enthusiasm.

The Field of Battle. The insistence of the war party in Congress, led by Clay, Calhoun, Grundy, and Porter, finally compelled Madison to send in a war message in June, 1812.

LACK OF PREPAREDNESS. The country was utterly unprepared for war. The army was small, poorly equipped, and handicapped by incompetent leaders. The state militia proved generally unreliable. Financial disorder followed the failure to recharter the Bank of the United States (1811), and the government's credit collapsed during the war.

THE OFFENSIVE AGAINST CANADA (1812-1813). The first attack on Canada was a failure. Hull surrendered Detroit; Smythe and Van Rensselaer failed at Niagara; Dearborn never crossed the border in his attack on Montreal. In 1813 Perry's victory on Lake Erie and Harrison's invasion of Canada recovered the Northwest.

THE WAR ON THE SEA. In the first six months of the war American frigates forced five British ships to strike their colors and our privateers took three hundred British merchantmen as prizes. But superior sea power finally enabled the British to blockade our chief ports and cripple our commerce.

THE FRUSTRATION OF THE BRITISH OFFENSIVE (1814). The elaborate plans of the British government to win the war in 1814 failed. At Niagara, Jacob Brown stopped Drum-

mond's invasion; on Lake Champlain, MacDonough won a naval victory which compelled Prevost to retreat to Canada; Washington was taken by Ross but the resistance of Fort McHenry prevented Ross's troops from entering Baltimore; in the Southwest Andrew Jackson repulsed Pakenham's assault on New Orleans, the battle being fought after the treaty of peace had been signed.

THE HARTFORD CONVENTION. Opposition to the war was widespread in New England. The states refused to furnish militia for the Canadian campaigns; the financial interests boycotted the government's efforts to sell bonds to finance the war; the farmers and merchants supplied British armies in Canada with meat and grain. In October, 1814, Massachusetts Federalists called a convention at which Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont, and New Hampshire were represented. This gathering at Hartford finally published a report recommending constitutional amendments (1) to omit slaves from the census on which representation was based; (2) to require a two-thirds vote of Congress to admit new states, impose commercial restrictions, or declare war; (3) to limit the President to a single term and prohibit the election of two persons in succession from the same state. Thus the dying Federalist party expressed its hostility to the Southern supporters of Jeffersonian doctrines.

The Peace of Ghent. The negotiations which resulted in the Treaty of Ghent were powerfully influenced by the course of Great Britain's struggle with Napoleon as well as by the events in America.

EXTREME BRITISH DEMANDS. The British envoys at Ghent were instructed in August, 1814, to demand (1) cession to Canada of land in Maine and northern New York; (2) British control of the Great Lakes; (3) exclusion of American ships from the Newfoundland fisheries; (4) the creation of a northwestern state for the Indians south of the Great Lakes.

Success of the American Delegates. The ability of the American representatives — Gallatin, Adams, Clay, Bayard, and Russell — was great, but their diplomatic cards would have been poor had not the trend of events at the Congress of Vienna alarmed the British ministry, and the news of MacDonough's victory and Prevost's retreat changed its attitude.

Terms of the Treaty. The treaty as finally signed provided merely for the cessation of hostilities and a return to conditions before the war. Such questions as boundaries and fisheries were referred to commissions for future adjustment. No mention was made of impressment, neutral rights, illegal blockades, or the right of search.

The Effect of the War. Although the war accomplished little toward the settlement of grievances against Great Britain which had caused the conflict, its effect on both Great Britain and the United States was salutary. Never again were we treated with that contempt which the British had shown before 1812; no longer were our political affairs dominated by the trend of European events; the disruptive forces of sectionalism and particularism for the moment gave way before the spirit of national self-sufficiency which the war years had engendered.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Compare Secretary Gallatin's financial program with that of Alexander Hamilton.
2. Why did the Federalist party oppose the acquisition of Louisiana?
3. What was the nature of Jefferson's policy of peaceful coercion? Did it have a fair trial in the embargo?
4. Why were the "war hawks" so eager for war with Great Britain?
5. Explain New England's opposition to "Mr. Madison's War."
6. How do you explain the failure of the United States to conquer Canada?
7. What was the influence of the European situation upon the course of the negotiations at Ghent?
8. To what extent did the peace treaty settle the points at issue in the war?

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Monroe Doctrine	1823
The Election of Andrew Jackson	1828

CHAPTER XI

PREMATURE NATIONALISM

A PROGRAM OF NATIONALISTIC LEGISLATION

Manifestations of a common national purpose which transcended sectional interests and particularistic jealousies were numerous in the congressional legislation of the decade following the War of 1812.

Enlarged Military Establishment. The most obvious lesson of the war had been the necessity for a more adequate national defense.

MAINTENANCE OF A STANDING ARMY. A regular force of 10,000 men was created, with Jacob Brown and Andrew Jackson as major generals for the Northern and Southern departments respectively.

NAVAL APPROPRIATIONS. New warships were built, coast defenses were improved, and the coast guard was augmented.

Improved Communication. The difficulties of transportation and communication, emphasized by the military campaigns in the West, became the subject of congressional legislation.

Western Demand for Internal Improvements. The growing population in the trans-Allegheny region, dependent upon the Mississippi and its tributaries for an outlet for its produce, demanded that the federal government undertake turnpike and canal projects in order to improve transportation facilities and lower freight costs on bulky commodities. The National or Cumberland Road was completed to Wheeling on the Ohio.

The Bonus Bill of 1817. Despite sectional rivalries and states' rights prejudices, Congress passed a bill, proposed by John C. Calhoun, to set aside the bonus ($1,500,000) to be paid to the government by the Bank and devote it to a comprehensive program of internal improvements. Madison's constitutional scruples against internal improvements at national expense caused him to veto the bill.

State Projects. The funds devoted to roads and canals came largely from state appropriations and private capital. New York started to dig the Erie Canal in 1817; Pennsylvania aided turnpike companies and canal promoters, as did New Jersey, Maryland, and Virginia.

Centralized Financial Controls. A major problem confronting the nationalists in Congress was that of establishing a financial system which would insure a sound currency.

Inflationary Banking. After Congress failed to recharter the Bank of the United States (1811), state-chartered banks increased rapidly, from 88 in 1811 to 246 in 1816. Only in Massachusetts was there any effective restraint on the quantity of bank notes which these banks might issue. By 1816 currency in circulation was twice as large as it had been five years earlier.

Impact of War. As the war progressed, specie tended to flow into the Northeastern commercial centers and large sections of the country relied entirely upon paper money. The result was confusion, approaching chaos, when many banks refused to redeem their outstanding notes in specie — that is, in gold or silver.

Second Bank of the United States. To curb unsound banking practices and to check further inflation of the currency, Calhoun and Clay joined in securing a congressional charter for a Second Bank of the United States. One-fifth of its capital stock was subscribed by the federal government, while more than 31,000 citizens subscribed for four-fifths. Through the issue of its own notes, the Bank managed to compel state banks to limit their issues and to maintain those issues at full face value.

Toward Economic Self-Sufficiency. The experiences of the war years had strongly reinforced the sentiment that American producers should be protected against foreign competitors.

Demand for Protection. Manufacturing in New England and the Middle Atlantic States had grown rapidly behind the protective barriers of embargo (1807-1809) and war (1812-1814). The probable "dumping" of British exports in American ports caused manufacturers to demand that they be protected by a high tariff in their home market. They were joined by growers of hemp in Kentucky and by sheep raisers in Ohio, New York, and Vermont.

Economic Independence. The protectionists, who had a direct interest in keeping out foreign imports, received aid in Congress from some Southerners, under the lead of Calhoun, who believed that the United States should make itself independent of Europe — economically as well as politically.

The Tariff of 1816. The chief schedules in this tariff act were those relating to woolen and cotton goods. No cot-

ton imports were to be valued at less than twenty-five cents per yard. By this principle of "minimal valuation" coarse cotton fabrics were kept out of the country and the American market fell into the hands of the cotton manufacturers of New England.

Protection of the Frontier. Another important feature of the plans of the nationalist leaders was the adequate protection of the country's far-flung outposts along the frontier.

Quieting the Indian Menace. Harrison's victories in the Northwest during the war were followed by numerous treaties whereby the northern tribes permitted lands in Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois to be opened to settlement. In the Southwest the Seminoles in Florida joined the dispossessed Creeks in harassing border settlements, and precipitated the Seminole War (1817), which Andrew Jackson waged with vigor and success.

The Acquisition of Florida. Jackson's zeal in prosecuting the Seminole War caused him to invade Florida and seize Spanish forts. Secretary of State Adams used the occasion as a pretext to demand that Spain control the Florida Indians or sell the province. Fearful that he could no longer hold the colony, King Ferdinand of Spain sold Florida (1819) on condition that our government assume claims of American citizens against Spain to the extent of $5,000,000.

Anglo-American Convention of 1818. Our interests along the northwestern border were safeguarded in an agreement with the British government providing: (1) that our northern boundary west of the Lake of the Woods was the 49th parallel to the Rockies; (2) that the Oregon Country was to be held in joint occupation for ten years.

THE FRUITS OF EXPANSION

The expansionists of this era of exuberant nationalism pushed the frontier westward with startling rapidity, occu-

pied the eastern half of the Mississippi Valley, and exerted a constant sectional influence upon governmental policies.

Causes of the Westward Migration. The flow of population into the trans-Appalachian region, which had started before the Revolution, was checked during the years of commercial prosperity (1793-1807), but rose to amazing proportions in the decade following the Treaty of Ghent. Among the forces which lured settlers into the West, or drove them from the East, were the following: (1) the lure of adventure in the wilderness; (2) the opportunity to secure fertile land at low prices ($1.25 an acre in 1820); (3) the desire to escape from the political, social, and religious discriminations of the Eastern communities; (4) the pressure of economic depression, especially the panic of 1819 with the consequent unemployment in Eastern cities. The westward-moving groups were augmented by foreigners, fleeing from the consequences of the Napoleonic wars in Europe.

The Routes of Travel. The majority of Western settlers, traveling in family groups, reached their respective destinations by stage coach, wagon, or horseback over rough roads, or by river craft and canal boats. The overland routes into the Mississippi Valley were innumerable, but four natural highways were important: (1) the Wilderness Road through Cumberland Gap into the Kentucky country tapped the Virginia and Carolina territory; (2) the Cumberland Road from Maryland across the mountains reached the Ohio at Wheeling; (3) the Lancaster Turnpike from Philadelphia ran into the road which crossed the mountains at Bedford and reached the Ohio at Pittsburgh; (4) the Genessee Road from Albany to Buffalo served many New Englanders.

The Frontiersmen. Although many in the East regarded the emigrants to the West as social misfits not worthy "to live in regular society," such a view was probably inspired by resentment over the loss of population and prestige suffered by the Eastern states. In the checkered pattern of Western

life the influence of the industrious farmer seeking a new and better home for his family was dominant.

THE NATURE OF THE COLONIZING MOVEMENT. Unlike most other colonizing movements the American occupation of the Mississippi Valley was not sponsored by powerful companies or promoted under government auspices, but was primarily the movement of individual family groups. Behind the frontiersmen, who blazed the trails and cleared part of the wilderness, came the pioneer farmers who created farmsteads which they sold to the settlers anxious to establish in the West an institutional life similar to that of the seaboard states.

WESTERN TRAITS AND IDEALS. It is difficult to generalize about Western society from the shores of Lake Erie to the waters of the Gulf of Mexico, yet certain characteristics were striking and distinctive. The Western pioneers were of necessity resourceful, self-reliant and aggressive. Convinced that all men were equal, they hated political privilege, financial monopoly, and social distinction; they resented governmental restrictions, and they distrusted professional competence in any form. They demanded a government responsive to the popular will as expressed through representatives elected by universal manhood suffrage.

THE POWER OF THE WEST. The rapid growth in population of the trans-Appalachian region brought new states into the Union. To Kentucky (1792), Tennessee (1796), Ohio (1803), and Louisiana (1812) were added Indiana (1816), Mississippi (1817), Illinois (1818), and Alabama (1819). By 1820 this "Western bloc" had sixteen votes in a Senate of forty-four and had forty-three spokesmen in the House of Representatives. Its influence in politics was especially important in the settlement of questions affecting the public lands, Indian policies, and internal improvements.

Expansionists and the Missouri Controversy. A sharp cleavage between the interests of the free-labor farmers of

the Northern Mississippi Valley and the slave-owning planters of the Southern section became apparent in the controversy over the admission of Missouri to the Union.

THE TALLMADGE AMENDMENT. When the territory of Missouri applied (1818) for admission to the Union, James Tallmadge of New York proposed that the new state be created on condition that the further introduction of slaves be prohibited and that all children born to slave parents within the state be free at the age of twenty-five.

CONGRESSIONAL DEBATES. The Tallmadge amendment, which was accepted by the House but defeated in the Senate, caused a spirited controversy. The representatives of the states in which slavery was legal were fighting for the right to take their property into the nation's territory beyond the Mississippi, while the representatives of the free states, in which gradual emancipation by statute or constitutional provision was in process, were determined to prevent slavery from spreading. The spokesmen for the slave states did not defend their labor system on ethical grounds, but argued that in a union of equal states Congress had no power to impose a limitation upon any state. Each state should be free to enter the Union with or without slavery as it desired.

THE COMPROMISE. The Missouri question was settled in 1820 by a compromise which provided: (1) that Missouri should be admitted as a slave state; (2) that Maine should be admitted as a free state, thus keeping slave and free states evenly divided in the Union; (3) that slavery should be excluded from all the Louisiana Purchase territory north of latitude 36° 30′, except in Missouri itself. The South and Southwest voted solidly for the Compromise, while fifteen Northern Republicans supported it, probably because they feared that slavery restriction was being used in the free states as a political device to revive the Federalist party.

JOHN MARSHALL'S NATIONALISM

The Supreme Court decisions, while John Marshall was chief justice, heartened the politicians of the nationalistic school and aroused resentment among those who cherished the states' rights philosophy of the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions.

Influence of John Marshall. During the period that he was chief justice, Marshall wrote 519 of the Court's 1,106 opinions. A staunch Federalist, he used the power of the federal judiciary to foster nationalism, to protect the rights of the propertied classes, and to curb the radical tendencies of the state legislatures.

The Prestige of the Federal Judiciary. The regime of Marshall firmly established the doctrine of judicial review and made the Supreme Court the arbiter in all disputes regarding the functioning of our constitutional system.

In Marbury v. Madison (1803) the Court refused to permit Congress to define the functions and jurisdiction of the federal judiciary, if such definition conflicted with the Court's interpretation of the Constitution.

In Fletcher v. Peck (1810) the Court declared an act of the Georgia legislature unconstitutional because it conflicted with the Court's interpretation of the constitutional guarantee of the sanctity of contracts.

In Martin v. Hunter's Lessee (1816) the Court maintained its right to review decisions of the state courts in case such decisions were challenged on the ground of conflict with the federal Constitution.

The Power of the Federal Government. In its review of state and federal legislation the Court accepted the doctrine of "implied powers" and used it with great consistency in enabling the national government to exercise powers which the Constitution seemed to grant only by implication.

In McCulloch v. Maryland (1819) the Court upheld the constitutionality of the act chartering the Second Bank of the United States and denied the right of the states to restrict the Bank's activity by taxing it.

In Gibbons v. Ogden (1824) Marshall wrote a far-reaching decision which denounced state interference with interstate commerce and presented an interpretation of congressional powers so broad that the national legislature could control a large part of intrastate as well as interstate and foreign commerce.

The Protection of Property. Fearful that the democratic state legislatures would resort to radical economic policies, Marshall scrutinized carefully legislation which seemed hostile to the property interests.

In Dartmouth College v. Woodward (1819) the Court held that the pre-Revolutionary charter of Dartmouth College was a contract and therefore could not be changed by the state of New Hampshire against the will of the College.

In Craig v. Missouri (1830) the Court refused to permit the state of Missouri to evade the constitutional prohibition against bills of credit, thus protecting the creditor class against an inflationist program.

THE MONROE DOCTRINE

The nationalism of the "Era of Good Feeling" was implicit in the foreign policy known as the Monroe Doctrine.

The European Background. The Quadruple Alliance, sponsored by Metternich, supported the principles formulated by the Congress of Vienna and maintained legitimate monarchs on their European thrones. At the Congress of Verona (1822) its leaders seriously considered a plan to restore to King Ferdinand of Spain his colonies in America which had lately revolted and declared their independence. Great Britain, enjoying a lucrative trade with the former Spanish colo-

nies, refused to join Russia, Austria, Prussia, and France in such a policy. Canning, the British foreign minister, suggested that the United States join Great Britain in opposition to a policy of intervention in Spanish America.

Adams' Policy. John Quincy Adams, Secretary of State, was alarmed by the threat of the Quadruple Alliance and irritated by the Russian Tsar's edict of 1821 extending the boundary of Alaska southward and claiming the western coast of North America as a possible field of Russian colonization. Confident that the British government would support the United States, he urged Monroe to define the relation between the Old World and the New.

Monroe's Message to Congress. President Monroe's message of December, 1823, contained the statement of the Monroe Doctrine: (1) that the American continents were not to be considered as fields for future colonization by European powers; (2) that the attempt of any European monarchy to extend its political system to this hemisphere would be regarded as dangerous to our peace and safety; (3) that we had no intention of interfering with the existing colonies of European powers; and (4) that we were not concerned with Europe's quarrels. Although the Monroe Doctrine was merely a presidential proclamation of our national right of self-defense, it was an impressive indication that the destiny of the New World was not to be guided by the Old.

REVIVAL OF POLITICAL STRIFE

Beneath the apparent political calm of the "Era of Good Feeling" new lines of factionalism were taking shape, which presaged a revival of partisan strife.

The Era of Good Feeling. As the Republican party under Madison gradually became a convert to the nationalism of Washington and Hamilton, Federalist opposition collapsed. In 1820 Monroe was re-elected with only one dissenting vote

in the electoral college. But the Republican solidarity was not genuine.

The Election of 1824. Four favorite sons were presented by their respective states as presidential candidates in 1824: Jackson of Tennessee, Clay of Kentucky, Adams of Massachusetts, and Crawford of Georgia.

THE DECISION OF THE HOUSE. As no one of the candidates secured a majority in the electoral college, the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, where Henry Clay gave his support to John Quincy Adams.

THE "CORRUPT BARGAIN." When Andrew Jackson, who had received the largest number of electoral votes, learned that Clay had been named Secretary of State, he was persuaded that a political deal between Adams and Clay had robbed him of the presidency. His friends determined to insure his election in 1828.

Democrats versus National Republicans. The Jacksonian leaders gradually built a party around the personality of "Old Hickory." Such former Republican politicians as Calhoun, Crawford, and Van Buren joined the antiadministration forces after 1824, and, taking the name "Democrat," emphasized their return to fundamental Jeffersonian principles. The administration party, National Republican, supported the nationalistic program of Adams and Clay.

A Futile Administration (1825-1829). Frustration was the keynote of John Quincy Adams' administration. Congress refused to follow his nationalistic program of devoting federal revenues to the construction of roads and canals, the building of warships, and the endowment of educational institutions. The Senate quarreled with him over sending delegates to the Panama Congress (1826); the Georgia legislature defied him in its treatment of the Cherokee Indians; and Canning's attitude thwarted all his attempts to settle outstanding differences between Great Britain and the United States.

The Election of Andrew Jackson. The politicians of local repute, who organized the campaign to discredit Adams, did a thorough job. Into the Jacksonian ranks they marshaled (1) Westerners who detected "aristocratic principles" in Adams' policies; (2) Southerners who were eager to defend states' rights; (3) Eastern wage earners who demanded recognition of their claims to political power. The campaign of 1828 resulted in victory for Jackson, as he carried the Southern and Western states, Pennsylvania, and most of New York.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. To what extent did the Republicans in the decade after the War of 1812 adopt the Federalist philosophy of government?
2. How do you explain the rapid acceleration of westward migration after 1815?
3. Why did the slavery issue become significant in the controversy over the admission of Missouri?
4. Discuss the constitutional principles which seem most important in the decisions of the Supreme Court while John Marshall was chief justice.
5. What European developments were responsible for the enunciation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823?
6. How do you account for the nationalism of Monroe's administrations?
7. In what sense did the election of 1824 terminate the "Era of Good Feeling"?
8. Why was John Quincy Adams unable to carry out the nationalistic program which he had devised for his administration?

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Significant Dates

Webster-Hayne Debate . . .	1830
South Carolina's Nullification .	1832
Specie Circular	1836
Depression and Panic	1837

CHAPTER XII

JACKSONIAN DEMOCRACY

THE RISE OF THE COMMON MAN

The election of Andrew Jackson was but one manifestation of the influences throughout the nation which were responsible for the democratization of political methods and institutions.

Western Democracy. The trans-Appalachian communities, where differences of social rank were less evident than elsewhere, waged a continuous warfare against monopoly and privilege.

POLITICAL REFORMS. The Western states generally came into the Union with constitutions which provided for frequent elections, removal of religious and property qualifications for the suffrage, and effective popular control of the executive and the judiciary.

Decline of Aristocracy. Even in the aristocratic strongholds of the East, the influence of the frontier democracy was felt. One state after another modified its fundamental law in order to democratize its government. Massachusetts (1820) and New York (1821) widened the suffrage, and Delaware (1831), Mississippi (1832), and Georgia (1833-1835) granted manhood suffrage.

Eastern Wage Earners. In the ranks of the new democracy marched thousands of the workingmen in the industrial centers of the Eastern states.

Labor in Politics. By 1825 every Northern state except Rhode Island had granted manhood suffrage. Laborers, therefore, had the franchise, but they made little headway in organizing an American labor party. Workingmen's parties strove for social legislation in such states as New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts. Since the federal government had slight control over matters in which they were interested, they were halfhearted in their attempts to form a national party.

Labor's Demands. The program of organized labor was concerned less with wages and hours than with status. It contained such demands as: (1) free public education; (2) abolition of imprisonment for debt; (3) anticonvict-labor laws; (4) mechanic's lien laws to protect laborers from dishonest contractors; and (5) recognition of the right of collective bargaining.

Political Methods. The democratic movement wrought changes in the electoral process as well as in the organization and functioning of the political parties.

Electing the President. The demand for the popular election of the President resulted in the transfer of the power to choose the presidential electors from the state legislatures to the qualified voters. By 1832 only South Carolina still permitted the legislature to name the electors. Likewise, the

nomination of party candidates was taken out of the hands of the party's representatives in Congress (congressional caucus) and vested in a national convention of delegates chosen by local partisans. The Anti-Masonic party held the first national nominating convention in 1831, but the method was well established by 1840.

Party Organizations. The national nominating convention, supposedly democratic, really became the crowning glory of the professional politicians, who were shepherding the new voters and building up their local political machines by enrolling the urban wage earners. Public office became the reward for partisan service, and rotation in government jobs became not only desirable, but necessary, in order to satisfy the claims of party workers. The boss and his machine had arrived.

DEMOCRATIC POLICIES

These democratic tendencies in national politics were powerful factors in the election of Andrew Jackson, the first President from the new West.

Andrew Jackson—Democrat. The hero of New Orleans, courageous, vigorous, and impetuous, interpreted his office as a direct mandate from the people to use the full power of the national government in curbing privilege and monopoly.

The Spoils System. With the Westerner's contempt for the trained expert, Jackson combined a desire to reward his supporters with federal appointments. Accordingly, he removed competent as well as incompetent men long in office, in order to make room for the workers who were building the Jackson "machine."

The "Kitchen Cabinet." Jackson's cabinet advisers, save Van Buren, were inconsequential. The President never established close contact with Congress; instead, he surrounded himself with political and personal friends who

formed an intimate circle. To this "Kitchen Cabinet" belonged William B. Lewis, Isaac Hill, and Amos Kendall.

Social and Political Intrigue. John C. Calhoun, the Vice-President, expected to exercise controlling influence in the administration as four of his political followers were in the cabinet.

THE "EATON MALARIA." Trouble in administration circles arose over the refusal of the cabinet members' wives, led by Mrs. Calhoun, to accept Peggy Eaton, wife of the Secretary of War. Like a disease this social quarrel weakened the influence of the Calhounites with the President, who gallantly championed the cause of the Eatons.

THE QUARREL WITH CALHOUN. While the Eaton episode was troubling the political leaders, the "Kitchen Cabinet" let Jackson know that at the time of the Seminole War (1818) Secretary of War Calhoun had suggested that General Andrew Jackson be court-martialed for his invasion of Florida. Between the President and the great South Carolinian personal friendship ceased.

THE REORGANIZATION OF THE CABINET. In 1831 Jackson effected a complete change in the personnel of his cabinet, thus terminating Calhoun's influence. Calhoun himself soon resigned the vice-presidency and became a senator from South Carolina.

Western Interests. The frontier democracy expected Jackson to be particularly vigilant in defending its interests.

INDIAN AFFAIRS. Jackson's policy toward the Indians was based upon the removal of all tribes to the region beyond the Mississippi. More than ninety treaties during his presidential terms compelled the Indians to surrender millions of acres and move west. Trouble developed with several tribes: (1) the Sacs and Fox in Illinois under Black Hawk were crushed by the Illinois militia (1831); (2) the Cherokee nation in Georgia resisted the attempt to infringe their treaty

rights and were not finally dispossessed until 1838; (3) the Seminoles likewise refused to accept a treaty of removal, and their chieftain, Osceola, opened hostilities which did not terminate until 1842.

Land Policies. The West desired certain reforms in the national land system, urging that Congress make a progressive reduction in the price of public land unsold after a given period. Benton of Missouri had Jackson's support in his campaign for a general pre-emption law, but not until 1841 did Congress permit the head of a family to settle on a piece of land (160 acres) and purchase it, without competitive bids, at the minimum government price. The administration opposed Clay's proposal that the proceeds from the public lands be distributed to the states.

Internal Improvements. The Jacksonian politicians refused to accept a policy of indiscriminate appropriation of government funds for internal improvements. In 1830 the President vetoed a bill authorizing a subscription to the stock of the Maysville and Lexington (Kentucky) Turnpike, and set forth his states' rights view of the matter.

THE NEW SECTIONALISM

The quarrel between Jackson and Calhoun had a deeper significance than appeared on the surface. It was closely associated with the spirited controversy over the protective tariff and the fundamental question of the nature of the Union.

The South and the Tariff. During the decade following the enactment of the protective tariff of 1816, South Carolina became the political leader of the Southern opposition to the protective tariff.

South Carolina's Economic Position. When Calhoun and Lowndes had advocated protection (1816), they had expected their state to share in the industrial expansion of

the nation. But South Carolina, like most of the lower South, became wedded to cotton growing. As production increased, prices fell and her slowly increasing population declined in the economic scale, unable to compete with producers on the better lands of the Southwest. South Carolina planters blamed their plight largely on the protective tariff, which increased their cost of production but conferred no benefit on them.

THE PROTECTIONIST MOVEMENT. The years of South Carolina's decline marked a steady growth of protectionist sentiment (1816-1830), as Eastern industrialists joined the farmers of the middle states and the West in support of Clay's American system. The bill of 1820 failed by one vote in the Senate, while the act of 1824 provided for a general upward revision of rates. A convention at Harrisburg (1827) recommended higher duties to protect the woolen industry.

THE "TARIFF OF ABOMINATIONS" (1828). The tariff legislation of 1828 resulted from an attempt of the Jackson men in Congress to persuade both protectionist and low-tariff men that their leader was "safe" on the tariff question. Southern supporters of Jackson, led by Calhoun, permitted rates to be pushed to excessive levels in certain schedules in the hope that the Adams men in New England would finally defeat the bill. When the act, even with its objectionable features, became law, the Southerners were in a rebellious mood.

The Exposition and Protest. Fearful that his state's hostility to the tariff might point the road to the dissolution of the Union, Calhoun devised a formula, known as nullification, as a check on mere majority rule in the nation. Based on the theory that the Constitution was a compact between sovereign states, nullification proposed that a state convention, as the agent of state sovereignty, should have the right to decide whether an act of Congress was constitutional. The remedy for an unconstitutional act was a state ordinance preventing its enforcement. Calhoun, who was a candidate for

Vice-President on the ticket with Jackson, urged his state not to attempt nullification until it learned what the new administration would do concerning the tariff.

Southern Bid for Western Support. The South was willing to give the West a free hand in disposing of the public lands, if the West would support the South in opposition to protection.

THE FOOTE RESOLUTION. The proposal of Senator Foote (Connecticut) that Congress investigate the desirability of limiting public land sales aroused Senator Benton (Missouri), who denounced the attempt of Eastern manufacturers to restrict the growth and prosperity of the Western states. Senator Hayne of South Carolina supported Benton and opened a general attack upon the particularism of New England (1830).

THE WEBSTER-HAYNE DEBATE. Webster answered Hayne's slur on the patriotism of New England and the argument drifted from the question of public lands to the constitutional basis of the Union. Hayne elaborated on South Carolina's doctrine of nullification and Webster branded it as a menace to the perpetuity of the national government.

Nullification Attempted. South Carolinians watched with ill-concealed impatience the deliberations of Congress over the tariff from 1830 to 1832.

TARIFF OF 1832. The tariff act which Jackson signed on July 14, 1832, maintained Clay's protectionist principles, though the rates were slightly lower than the act of 1828. The "nullifiers" in South Carolina promptly carried a resolution in the state legislature for a state convention to consider the momentous question of nullification.

THE ORDINANCE OF NULLIFICATION (November 24, 1832). The state convention passed an ordinance declaring the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 null and void, prohibiting the collection of customs duties within the state after February 1,

1833, and threatening secession if the national government used force.

Jackson Threatens Coercion. President Jackson was determined to enforce the federal laws. He warned South Carolina that nullification was incompatible with the maintenance of the Union, stationed warships in Charleston harbor, transferred artillery to Fort Moultrie, and held troops in readiness.

The Compromise (1833). Calhoun, fearful of civil war, and Clay, anxious to thwart Jackson's policy, co-operated in securing a compromise on the tariff question. Congress enacted a Force Bill, authorizing the President to use the army and navy to collect duties, at the same time that it passed a new tariff law, providing for a gradual scaling down of all schedules until they should reach 20 per cent ad valorem within ten years.

THE CONTROL OF FINANCIAL POWER

During the same week that he signed the Tariff of 1832, Jackson made a significant move in his war on the Bank of the United States by vetoing the bill to grant a new charter to that institution.

Jackson's Hostility to the Bank. In his attitude toward the Bank, Jackson represented the resentment of the debtor West over (1) the Bank's refusal to countenance inflation and (2) the high interest rates charged by the Bank's branches. Furthermore, the President regarded the Bank as a privileged corporation inimical to democratic principles and he suspected it of anti-Jackson political activity. His first two messages to Congress (1829 and 1830) attacked the institution.

The Election of 1832. Henry Clay, eager to make Jackson's attitude toward the Bank an issue in the election of 1832, persuaded Nicholas Biddle, president of the institution,

to apply for a renewal of the Bank's charter, though the old charter would not expire until 1836.

JACKSON'S VETO MESSAGE. The Bank Bill passed both houses of Congress, but was vetoed by the President in a strong message denouncing the institution and its practices. He maintained (1) that the Bank was unconstitutional; (2) that it had become a dangerous monopoly; (3) that its stock was concentrated in the hands of Eastern industrialists and foreign capitalists; (4) that its policies were hostile to the interests of the small banks throughout the West.

THE JACKSON-CLAY CAMPAIGN. Clay, who was nominated by the National Republicans, believed that he could defeat the President on the Bank issue. But he had sadly miscalculated the trend of popular prejudices. Despite Clay's organization of the financial interests and the conservative classes, Jackson was triumphantly re-elected in 1832.

The Removal of Deposits. Jackson interpreted his re-election as a mandate to destroy the "monster," as he called the Bank. Furthermore, he became convinced that Biddle had mismanaged the Bank's affairs and that the institution was no longer solvent. He determined to cease using the Bank as a depository for the funds of the federal government. Under the Secretary of the Treasury, Roger B. Taney, the governmental surpluses were drawn out of the Bank of the United States and deposited with "pet banks," which were state banks selected by the administration.

THE PANIC OF 1837

The closing years of Jackson's presidential career were marked by a phenomenal prosperity in which were rooted the causes of the financial panic and economic depression that began in 1837.

Fundamental Factors in the Panic. In a sense the causes of the Panic of 1837 were implicit in the rapid growth and expansion of the population of the United States.

Land Speculation. The steady increase in land sales reached "boom" proportions in 1835 and 1836, as the building of canals and railroads opened new areas to a rapidly growing population. Prices of town lots as well as farm lands reflected the exuberant confidence in the future of the nation.

Investments in Internal Improvements. State governments vied with private capitalists in promoting turnpike, canal, and railroad construction, gauged not to present needs but to the possibilities of future growth.

Expansion of Credit Facilities. The speculative mania was encouraged by the rapid expansion of credit through the instrumentality of state banks, which loaned their unsecured bank notes freely to finance land sales and internal improvement projects. Inflation was further stimulated by the willingness of foreign investors to purchase state bonds and the stocks of railroad and canal companies.

Lack of Liquid Assets. The obvious result of the fictitious prosperity (1835-1837) was to convert an excessive amount of the nation's capital into such forms as land not yet brought under cultivation, canals not yet completed, and railroads not yet prepared to haul freight or passengers.

The Specie Circular (1836). Jackson and his advisers finally realized that the apparent prosperity was based largely upon inflated land values and unsecured bank notes. In order to check inflation and to protect the government revenues, the President issued the Specie Circular, which forbade the federal land offices to receive anything but specie in payment for government lands. By this order a definite curb was placed upon speculative land ventures, and at the same time the value of the state bank notes sharply declined.

The Financial Crash. The collapse of the credit system became complete as European creditors attempted to realize in the open market on their American securities. Eastern banks, which were pressed to meet foreign obligations, called

for the loans advanced to Western and Southern banks. At the same time the government was calling upon the "pet banks" for its surplus funds, in order to make the loans to the various states which were authorized under the bill providing for distribution of the surplus. Banks either suspended specie payments or closed their doors; factories and shops closed; the plight of the unemployed became the more acute as a result of the crop failure of 1837.

Administration Remedies. Government revenues from customs and land sales fell off so rapidly that the Van Buren administration approved the issue of $10,000,000 in treasury notes as an emergency measure. The fourth installment of the surplus was not distributed to the states. After a long fight in Congress the Independent Treasury Act (1840) was signed, whereby the government was divorced from the banking system and subtreasuries were created in the important cities as depositories of government funds. But there was no wonder-working power in the administration's remedies.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What was the significance of Andrew Jackson's election in 1828?
2. Why was the quarrel between Jackson and Calhoun a momentous one in the political history of the American people?
3. Explain the fundamental questions at issue in the famous debate between Webster and Hayne.
4. Discuss the attitude of each of the following toward South Carolina's Ordinance of Nullification: Andrew Jackson, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster.
5. What was the basis of Andrew Jackson's hostility to the Bank of the United States?
6. How do you explain Calhoun's opposition to the protective tariff in 1828 in the light of his support of the tariff of 1816?
7. What financial system was inaugurated by the government after Jackson had won his campaign against the Bank?
8. Explain the relation of each of the following to the Panic of 1837: (a) the distribution of the surplus, (b) the Specie Circular, (c) the rapid increase in public land sales, (d) the investment of foreign capital in the United States.

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Significant Dates

Webster-Ashburton Treaty . .	1842
Annexation of Texas	1845
Acquisition of Oregon	1846
Mexican War	1846-1848

CHAPTER XIII

THE FRUITS OF MANIFEST DESTINY

WHIG CONSERVATISM

Hostility to the policies and methods of Andrew Jackson was the essential factor in the organization of the Whig party, which registered its first national victory in the turbulent election of 1840.

The Anti-Jackson Forces. Between 1834 and 1836 the Whig organization took form. Its nucleus was the remnant of National Republicans of the Adams-Clay school. In addition it came to include (1) conservatives who resented Jackson's attacks on monopoly, and particularly his war against the Bank; (2) native Americans who were hostile to the growing foreign population and believed that most of the naturalized citizens were members of the Democratic party;

(3) states' rights advocates who had broken with the Democrats because of Jackson's handling of the nullification controversy.

Whig Strategy. The Whig leaders formulated no program of principles, but contented themselves with sharp criticism of the Jacksonians.

Election of 1836. Jackson's influence was powerful enough in 1836 to insure the election of his candidate, Van Buren. The Whigs voted for various candidates (Webster, Harrison, and White) in different sections, hoping to throw the election into the House of Representatives.

Campaign of 1840. The Whigs made political capital out of the Panic of 1837. They traced the financial debacle to Jackson's policies, and blamed Van Buren for the prolongation of the depression. In 1840 they abandoned their logical leader, Henry Clay, and nominated William Henry Harrison. Maintaining silence on their policies, they presented their candidate as the frontier hero of Tippecanoe, in contrast to the aristocratic leader of the Eastern Democrats. In a campaign which was distinguished for the display of coonskin caps, log cabins, and cider barrels, the Whigs successfully posed as the party of the people.

Tyler and the Whigs. In order to strengthen their party in the South, the Whigs gave the vice-presidential nomination in 1840 to John Tyler, a states' rights Virginian, who hated Andrew Jackson but was no friend of the policies which Clay and Webster championed. Within five weeks of his inauguration, Harrison was dead and John Tyler had succeeded to the presidential office.

Clay's Program (1841). Although the Whig national convention of 1840 adopted no platform, Henry Clay presented a series of resolutions, comprising the Whig principles, as soon as Congress assembled in special session in 1841. The proposals were: (1) the repeal of the Independent Treas-

ury Act and the charter of a new Bank of the United States; (2) the enactment of a protective tariff; (3) the distribution to the states of the proceeds from the sale of public lands. It was a program reminiscent of the National Republicans of 1825.

Quarrel with Tyler. The Whigs succeeded in repealing the Independent Treasury Act, but they could not draft a bank bill acceptable to President Tyler, who had constitutional scruples against such a national institution. He vetoed two bank bills, and Congress abandoned the struggle. After much wrangling over tariff schedules, Tyler finally signed the act of 1842, which was moderately protective, but he refused to permit the tariff to go into effect unless Clay abandoned his plan to distribute the land sales to the states.

Reorganization of the Cabinet. Tyler's refusal to accept Clay's program brought open war between the President and the Whig leaders in Congress. Clay's followers in the cabinet resigned and were replaced by political friends of the President, who seemed to be determined to build a third party of dissatisfied Whigs and Democrats.

THE DIPLOMACY OF EXPANSION

At the time of Tyler's controversy with the Whigs, Daniel Webster, Secretary of State, was engaged in momentous negotiations with Great Britain.

Anglo-American Controversies. The two chief questions at issue between the United States and Great Britain were the dispute concerning the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick and the unsatisfactory joint occupation of the Oregon Country. Minor, but irritating, grievances were: (1) the *Caroline* affair, in which Canadians had destroyed the American ship *Caroline* during the insurrection of 1837, because they suspected that the ship belonged to filibusterers; (2) the *Creole* case, involving a cargo of slaves who mutinied and put into port in the Bahamas where they were freed by

the British authorities; (3) the practice of the British squadrons off the African coast in searching American ships which they believed guilty of engaging in the slave trade; (4) resentment of British investors over the action of several states in repudiating their debts.

The Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842). When the Peel ministry replaced that of Melbourne (1841), Great Britain indicated its willingness to discuss existing disputes in a friendly spirit. Lord Ashburton was sent to Washington to conduct negotiations with Webster. The terms of the treaty (1) settled the Maine-New Brunswick boundary by defining a compromise line, which gave the United States 7,000 of the 12,000 square miles in dispute, and (2) established a cruising convention which provided for patrolling squadrons off the African slave coast. The *Creole* case and the Oregon question were not solved in the treaty, but Ashburton apologized for the attack on the *Caroline*. The conversations between the diplomats greatly improved relations between the countries which they represented.

THE ACQUISITION OF TEXAS AND OREGON

The success of the Webster-Ashburton negotiations was particularly fortunate in view of the increasing demands of the expansionists that we acquire Texas and Oregon, regions in which Great Britain was involved.

The Texan Republic. The Mexican province of Texas, which had been colonized by emigrants from the United States, declared its independence on March 2, 1836.

Migration into Texas. In 1821 Moses Austin secured a patent from the Spanish authorities to establish 300 families in Texas. His son, Stephen F. Austin, carried forward the project and received confirmation of the grant from Mexican officials, after Mexico had revolted. His first settlement was made in December, 1821. Soon other colonizers were recipients of generous land grants. By 1830 nearly 20,000 Ameri-

cans, chiefly from Tennessee, Mississippi, and Louisiana, had settled in Texas.

Revolution. Grievances on the part of the Anglo-American settlers against the Mexican authorities soon became serious. The Texans (1) desired to retain the English language and their Anglo-American traditions; (2) resented the Mexican laws suspending land contracts, imposing duties on imported goods, and forbidding foreigners to enter the province; and (3) feared that the Mexican government would abolish slavery. Mexico did abrogate the law against foreign immigration, but a crisis came in 1835, when Santa Anna's government reduced Texas to a military district in the province of Coahuila.

Texan Independence. The Texan movement for provincial autonomy quickly developed into a war for independence, which was won at the Battle of San Jacinto, when Santa Anna's forces were routed by the Texans under General Sam Houston. President Santa Anna was compelled to acknowledge the independence of the province, but the Mexican government refused to honor the presidential signature.

The Annexationists. Although the treaty of 1819 with Spain contained provisions whereby the United States surrendered all claim on Texas, many Americans believed that the province would some day be added to our territory. John Quincy Adams (1827) and Andrew Jackson (1829, 1835) tried to purchase it from Mexico.

Controversy over Annexation. The great majority of Texans desired annexation to the United States, but there was determined opposition to such a project from the anti-slavery forces, who charged the Southern slaveholders with conspiring to create several slave states out of Texas in order to insure Southern control of the federal government. The controversy could end only in war with Mexico. On the other hand, the movement for expansion was supported by (1) expansionists who regarded it as the nation's destiny to

occupy the whole continent: (2) slaveholders who were eager to acquire territory suitable for the extension of the plantation economy of the South; (3) those who feared that an independent Texas might become an undesirable neighbor or a region under the economic control of Great Britain; (4) a small group of speculators who were interested in Texas land and depreciated Texas bonds.

Calhoun's Treaty (1844). Jackson recognized the independence of Texas (1837), but he left the question of annexation to his successor. Van Buren displayed little interest in the matter. Tyler made the issue his own after his quarrel with the Whigs. When he appointed Calhoun as Secretary of State (1843) the annexation of Texas became the chief policy of the administration. Calhoun negotiated a treaty of annexation, but it was defeated by a decisive vote in the Senate (June, 1844).

Campaign of 1844. Henry Clay, who was unanimously nominated by the Whigs, expected that his Democratic opponent would be Martin Van Buren, a foe of annexation. To remove the Texas issue from the campaign, Clay wrote his famous "Raleigh letter" advising against the acquisition of Texas. The Democrats, however, blocked Van Buren's nomination and chose as their candidate James K. Polk, an ardent expansionist, who ran on a platform calling for the reannexation of Texas and the reoccupation of Oregon. Antislavery Whigs, irritated by Clay's evasive pronouncements concerning Texas, cast many votes for James G. Birney, the candidate of the Liberty party, and Polk was elected.

Annexation of Texas. Tyler interpreted Polk's election as an endorsement of his own expansionist policy. He sponsored a joint resolution for the annexation of Texas, which Congress passed just three days before Tyler left the presidency. Texas finally accepted the terms of annexation and by December, 1845, had drafted a constitution under which it was admitted to the Union.

Oregon. In the campaign of 1844 the expansionists managed to make the annexation of Texas more palatable to Northern voters by linking it with the acquisition of Oregon, a region west of the Rockies, stretching from Spanish territory to Russian Alaska.

American Claims. Late in the eighteenth century Spain, Russia, France, and Great Britain all set forth vague claims to the Oregon Country. The government of the United States early in the nineteenth century based its claims upon (1) the explorations of Capain Robert Gray, who in 1792 discovered and named the Columbia River; (2) the expedition of Lewis and Clark (1805-1806); and (3) the establishment of John Jacob Astor's trading post, Astoria (1811).

Anglo-American Agreement. The British claims to the territory were equally well founded. An attempt in 1818 to define the possessions of each nation resulted in a compromise which provided for a ten-year period of joint occupation. Actually, the arrangement gave the representatives of the Hudson's Bay Company control of the region. Joint occupation, however, was renewed in 1827 for an indefinite period, with the provision that either nation might terminate the treaty by giving a year's notice.

Settlement of Oregon. Prior to 1830 the contact of the United States with Oregon was limited to the visits of trappers and traders. During the next two decades migration into Oregon was stimulated by several forces: (1) the propaganda of enthusiasts like Hall J. Kelley, who organized a society for the settlement of the territory; (2) the activities of businessmen like Nathaniel Wyeth, who demonstrated by his overland trips (1832, 1836) the practicability of a wagon route to the Oregon Country; (3) the missionary enterprises among the Indians of the Northwest established by the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Catholics.

Treaty of 1846. The steady stream of migrants, which reached considerable proportions in 1843, gave point to the

demands of the extremists that the United States acquire all of Oregon. The slogan became "Fifty-four forty or fight," referring to the northern boundary of Oregon. After considerable diplomatic maneuvering, however, the Polk administration finally agreed to a treaty which divided Oregon, and fixed the 49th parallel as the northern boundary of the United States between the Rockies and the Pacific.

POLK AND THE MEXICAN PROBLEM

The settlement of the Oregon question with Great Britain was facilitated by the fact that in the spring of 1846 our relations with Mexico had reached the breaking point and the Polk administration momentarily expected the outbreak of hostilities.

Polk's Peace Efforts. President Polk insisted that his policy was one of conciliation so far as Mexico was concerned, but his pacific gestures were affected by his determination to defend our annexation of Texas, which Mexico refused to recognize, and by his desire to add to our territory the province of California, which Mexico refused to sell.

THE SLIDELL MISSION. In the autumn of 1845 Polk sent John Slidell as a special envoy to Mexico with instructions (1) to offer to assume claims of our citizens against Mexico if the Mexican government would recognize the Rio Grande rather than the Nueces as the southern boundary of Texas; (2) to offer $5,000,000 additional for the cession of New Mexico; (3) to offer $25,000,000 additional for the cession of both California and New Mexico. Slidell was to conduct his negotiations in such manner as to promote cordial relations with Mexico.

MEXICAN POLICY. Political disturbances in Mexico made Slidell's task doubly difficult. The temper of the country was so hostile to the United States that two Mexican presidents refused to receive Polk's envoy. To patriotic Mexicans it

seemed as if the United States, having stolen Texas, was plotting to disrupt completely their nation. They willingly followed their more chauvinistic leaders in demanding war against the northern enemy.

The Mexican War. Discouraging reports from Slidell caused Polk to order General Zachary Taylor to advance from the Nueces to the Rio Grande. As soon as the President learned that Mexican forces had crossed the Rio Grande, he informed Congress that war existed by the act of Mexico itself (May 9, 1846).

Outbreak of Hostilities. Congress, accepting Polk's statement that Mexico had assumed the role of aggressor, authorized the President to raise an army of 50,000 men, and voted $10,000,000 of war appropriations. The Western and Southern states responded enthusiastically, but the Northeast was apathetic. New England abolitionists were most severe in their criticism of the administration's policy.

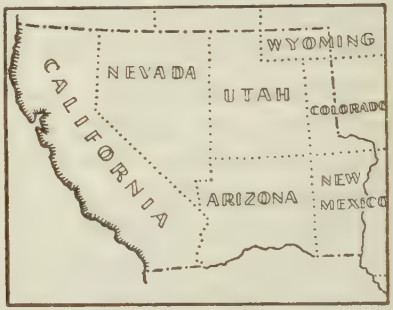
Taylor's Campaigns. Although Taylor's strategy was often faulty, his campaigns in northern Mexico were almost uniformly successful. Victories at Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma enabled him to enter Matamoros in May, 1846. By the end of the year he had captured Monterey, Saltillo, and Victoria and was holding a front two hundred miles long. His position was seriously threatened in February, 1847, when Santa Anna discovered that part of the American force had been diverted to Scott's command. Taylor, however, withstood the assault at Buena Vista, and his small army remained undisturbed during the remainder of the war.

Conquest of California. Mexican control in California and New Mexico, which was merely nominal, was easily overthrown. (1) Commodore Sloat of the Pacific fleet, and his successor Commodore Stockton, captured San Francisco, Monterey, and Los Angeles. (2) A group of American settlers under William B. Ide seized the town of Sonoma and proclaimed a republic under the "Bear Flag." Captain John

C. Frémont, a topographical engineer in the service of the United States, assumed the leadership of these insurgents and the Stars and Stripes replaced the Bear Flag. (3) In June, 1846, Colonel S. W. Kearney set out from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, took Santa Fe, and entered San Diego, California, in December. Stockton and Frémont co-operated with him in removing the last evidence of Mexican authority.

Scott's March on Mexico City. In November, 1846, the Polk administration decided to attack Mexico City by way of Vera Cruz and gave command of the expedition to General Winfield Scott. Scott's advance was stubbornly resisted, but his decisive victory at Cerro Gordo (April 17-18, 1847) scattered the Mexican forces. Engagements at Contreras, Churubusco, Molino del Rey, and Chapultepec brought the Americans into the Mexican capital.

Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo. Nicholas P. Trist, chief clerk of the state department, arranged the terms of the treaty of peace with the Mexican commissioners. Mexico agreed (1) to recognize the Rio Grande as the Texan boundary; (2) to cede New Mexico and California to the United States in return for $15,000,000 and the assumption by our government of our citizens' claims against Mexico up to $3,250,000. The Senate ratified the treaty by a narrow margin on March 10, 1848.



Mexican Cession of 1848

The Election of 1848. One important result of the Mexican War was the elevation of General Zachary Taylor to the presidency of the United States.

Taylor vs. Cass. Despite their strictures on the Mexican War the Whigs nominated General Taylor, who was resentful

over the manner in which he had been treated by a Democratic administration. The party was determined to win by capitalizing the popular enthusiasm for the hero of Buena Vista. It refused to adopt a platform. The Democrats, meanwhile, had nominated Senator Lewis Cass of Michigan and had adopted a platform which endorsed the conduct of the Mexican War, but was evasive on all other questions.

THE FREE-SOIL PARTY. The Democrats were torn by factional dissension, notably in New York State where the "Hunkers" or administration group were bitterly opposed by the "Barnburners," a faction supporting political reform and antislavery principles. The Barnburners refused to support Cass and nominated ex-President Van Buren. Their candidate received the support of the old Liberty party and a new group of Free-Soilers who were unalterably opposed to the extension of slavery into the territories.

WHIG VICTORY. In New York the Democratic defection was so large that Van Buren ran ahead of Cass, thus giving the state to the Whigs. Taylor's narrow margin in the electoral college was symbolic of the slight difference between the two major parties, both of which were carefully evading the pressing issue of the expansion of slavery.

The Mexican Cession. Shortly after the signing of the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo word came from California that gold had been discovered in the Sacramento Valley. It was the signal for a phenomenal migration to the Pacific Coast.

THE FORTY-NINERS. Those who sought the new El Dorado had a choice of three routes: (1) the overland road across the plains and through the passes of the Rockies; (2) the Isthmus of Panama route; (3) the long voyage around Cape Horn. Within two years of the discovery of gold more than 90,000 had reached California, and the territory, having drafted a constitution, was demanding admission into the Union. Its heterogeneous population, drawn from all parts

of the world and every social class, was grappling successfully with the problem of political organization.

Territory of Utah. The gold rush materially aided the Mormon settlements in the vicinity of Great Salt Lake. The members of this religious sect, established by Joseph Smith in 1830, had followed their leader, Brigham Young, into the region in 1847, when it still belonged to Mexico. Young's colony was a halfway station on the overland route to California. In 1850 it became the territory of Utah and Young was appointed its first governor.

Isthmian Canal Projects. The Forty-niners emphasized the importance of a canal or railroad across the isthmus of Panama. In 1846 the United States had negotiated a treaty with New Granada (Colombia) for an exclusive right of way across the isthmus. Two years later American capitalists began the construction of a railroad. Both British and American promoters were interested in a canal across Nicaragua. In 1850 the United States and Great Britain signed the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, whereby each agreed not to obtain exclusive control over a Central American canal, nor to erect fortifications commanding it, nor to colonize any part of Central America. The neutrality of any canal constructed by private capital was jointly guaranteed.

The Gadsden Purchase. The acquisition of the Mexican Cession and the rapid growth of California gave impetus to the transcontinental railroad projects. In 1853 James Gadsden, a South Carolina railroad president, was sent to Mexico, where he conducted negotiations for the purchase of some fifty thousand square miles in the Gila Valley which offered the best southern route for a railroad to the Pacific.

Gadsden Purchase

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Who were the Whigs? What significance do you attach to their campaign methods in 1840?
2. What evidence of the influence of Hamiltonian theories do you find in the Whig legislative program of 1841?
3. How did John Tyler justify his refusal to accept the policies championed by the powerful Whig politicians?
4. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty removed important obstacles from the path of those expansionists who desired the annexation of Texas and the occupation of Oregon. Discuss.
5. How do you explain the failure of the United States to annex Texas as soon as it had declared its independence?
6. Why did territorial expansion become a significant issue in the presidential election of 1844?
7. Do you think Polk's policy in dealing with Mexico was justifiable? Why?
8. What political consequences of the Mexican War were evident in the election of 1848?

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Significant Dates

Slater's First Cotton Factory	1790
Fulton's *Clermont*	1807
Charter of the Baltimore and Ohio	1827
First Telegraph Line	1843

CHAPTER XIV

AMERICAN SOCIETY AT MID-CENTURY

THE IMPACT OF INDUSTRIALISM

During the first half of the nineteenth century American society felt the impact of those changes in industry, transportation, and communication which are generally called the Industrial Revolution.

Population Trends. The census of 1850 with its elaborate compilations revealed the remarkable growth of our population and its sectional distribution.

ENUMERATION. The nucleus of 3,929,000 in 1790 had grown to 12,866,000 in 1830 and to 23,191,000 in 1850.

DISTRIBUTION. In 1790 nearly 95 per cent of the population lived east of the Alleghenies, but in 1850 this percentage

had decreased to 55. The rate of growth between 1830 and 1850 was 10 per cent for the Northeast, 40 per cent for the South and Southwest, and 75 per cent for the Northwest.

Immigration. Growth in population was due chiefly to the rapid reproduction of native stock. Between 1820, when statistics were first accurately kept, and 1830 less than 500,000 foreigners came to our shores. Five times as many came in the next two decades, most of them from Great Britain, Ireland, and the Germanies. By 1850, 12 per cent of the population was foreign-born. The United States became an asylum for those who fled from unsatisfactory labor conditions in Great Britain, from famine in Ireland, or from political revolutions and economic depression on the Continent.

Urban Growth. At the close of the Revolution only five cities in the country had more than eight thousand inhabitants. In 1850 there were 141 such cities representing every section of the nation. They contained 16 per cent of the total population. Already they were struggling with such problems as sanitation, transportation, public health, fire protection, and public safety. The "Native Americans" blamed the foreign groups for the growth of political corruption, social disorder, and religious bigotry. In 1850 the Nativists formed the Order of the Star Spangled Banner, which within a few years developed into the powerful Know-Nothing party.

Industrial Expansion. From the day in 1790 that Samuel Slater completed the first cotton mill the growth of machine industry was rapid. By 1850 the output of our mills and factories had reached a value of $1,055,511,000 and had surpassed the value of agricultural products.

Rise of the Factory System. The forces which had wrought great industrial changes in Great Britain late in the eighteenth century were retarded in the United States by (1) the fact that the nation's capital was invested in agriculture, land speculation, or foreign trade; (2) the fear of capitalists that American factories could not compete with

English industries; (3) the scarcity of an adequate supply of skilled or unskilled labor; (4) the lack of knowledge concerning machines and manufacturing processes; (5) the restricted local market due to poor transportation facilities. The most important factors in overcoming these initial obstacles were: (1) the phenomenal growth of population and its expansion across the continent; (2) the rapid improvement of transportation facilities after 1820; (3) the accumulation of capital for industrial investment which was accelerated by the transfer of funds from shipbuilding and foreign trade during the Napoleonic wars.

Improved Equipment and Methods. Before the War of 1812 English spinning and carding machinery had been introduced in the cotton industry. The generation following 1815 was prolific in the invention and improvement of machines for the textile and metal industries. Francis C. Lowell and Paul Moody perfected the power loom (1814); John Goulding improved the carding machine (1826); Frederick Geissenhainer smelted iron ore with anthracite coal (1833); Elias Howe invented the sewing machine (1846); and William Kelly independently discovered the Bessemer method of steel production.

New Forms of Power. Oliver Evans converted the low-pressure steam engine of James Watt into a more effective high-pressure engine (1803) but steam replaced water power slowly as the motive force in American factories. In 1830 more than one-third of the plants in Pennsylvania used steam, but in New England less than 10 per cent had abandoned water power. Wood remained the principal fuel until the Civil War, but after 1820 the use of coal increased rapidly.

Distribution of Manufactures. Southern New England, southern New York, New Jersey, eastern Pennsylvania, and eastern Maryland comprised the first industrial area. It excelled in textiles, textile machinery, engines, boots and shoes, clothing, glassware, etc. The area which later achieved

importance, after 1840, included western New York, western Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Except in Maryland and sections of Virginia, manufacturing made little progress in the South prior to 1865.

Size and Ownership of Factories. With few exceptions the early factories and mills were small establishments owned by individual proprietors, partners, or joint-stock companies. The corporate form of organization, which increased in importance after 1815, was used more frequently in New England than elsewhere. Stock ownership in corporations was usually confined to a small group.

Transportation and Communication. A factor of paramount influence in the expansion of industrial enterprises was the development of transportation and communication during the first half of the nineteenth century.

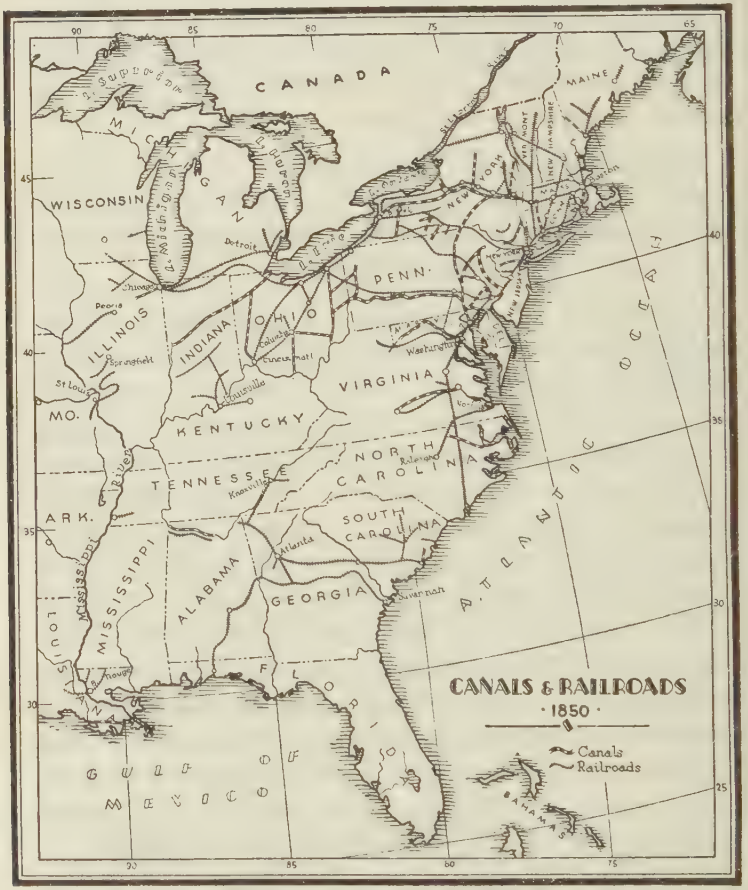
Agencies of Transportation. As population flowed into the Mississippi Valley the insistent demand for transportation facilities was answered in a variety of ways.

a. *Turnpikes.* With the completion of the Philadelphia and Lancaster Turnpike in 1794 the nation began to convert its dirt roads into passable highways. For thirty years private companies, often with state aid, constructed local and interstate roads, at times earning considerable profits. The most important federal project was the national road from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling on the Ohio (opened 1817).

b. *Rivers.* The use of the rivers as natural highways was revolutionized with the invention of the steamboat. The successful run of Fulton's *Clermont* up the Hudson (1807) was the prelude to the widespread use of steamboats, especially on inland waters. In 1860 there were more than a thousand plying the waters of the Mississippi and its tributaries.

c. *Canals.* The steamboat on the island rivers did not solve the demand for east-west transportation facilities. Eastern cities tried to reach the trade of the West by means of

canals. New York City forged ahead of its rivals in the decade after the completion of the Erie Canal (1825-1835). Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Charleston experimented with the same method. Pennsylvania financed a system of canals between Philadelphia and Pittsburgh (1826-1834). By 1850 more than 3,200 miles of canals had been dug in the United States.



d. *Railroads.* At the height of the canal craze came the railroad. The first pretentious project was sponsored by

Baltimore merchants and bankers who incorporated the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad in 1827. In 1830 there were 32 miles of railroad in the country; in 1840 there were 2,818 miles; in 1850 more than 9,000 miles. The companies received generous grants of land and stock subscriptions from the various states and indirectly from the federal government. By 1860 the trunk lines had bound the Northeast and Northwest together with bands of steel.

THE TELEGRAPH. The invention of the electric telegraph was of tremendous significance in the expansion of the railroad systems. Samuel F. B. Morse succeeded in making this means of communication practicable in 1837, but the first telegraph line of consequence was not constructed until 1843. By 1860 more than 50,000 miles of telegraph united the country east of the Rocky Mountains, and the next year San Francisco was brought into the network.

Agriculture. Less striking, but no less significant than the expansion in industry and transportation, was the steady growth of agricultural activity.

NEW FARMING METHODS. Although the abundance of cheap and fertile land was responsible for careless and wasteful methods among American farmers, the early decades of the nineteenth century were marked by new ventures in land fertilization, crop rotation, and scientific stockbreeding. Many societies for the promotion of agriculture followed the establishment of the first one at Philadelphia in 1785. Among the champions of better husbandry none were more important than Robert R. Livingston, who imported merino sheep, Elkanah Watson, whose Berkshire system was the forerunner of the county fair, Robert H. Gardiner, who founded the Gardiner Lyceum (1823) as the first American school of agriculture, and Edmund Ruffin, whose original work on soil fertility was still authoritative at the close of the nineteenth century.

Agricultural Machinery. The invention of agricultural machinery was America's answer to the problem raised by the scarcity of farm labor, which resulted from the drift of population into the cities and the great migration into the West. Jethro Wood's cast-iron plow (1819), John Deere's steel plow (1839), and Cyrus McCormick's reaper (1834), together with horse rakes, mowing machines, cultivators, and mechanical threshers, lightened the farmer's labor and increased his product at the middle of the century.

Production. Such staple commodities as corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco, wool, and other crops more than doubled in yield between 1830 and 1860. The South came to rely upon the West for its grain and livestock; New England and other parts of the East, in order to meet the competition of Western farms, turned to stockraising, dairying, and truck gardening.

FORCES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

American society during the first half of the nineteenth century was permeated by an optimistic faith in the perfectibility of man. It experimented widely, if not always wisely, with reform programs which were designed to emancipate the human spirit and improve social conditions.

Utopian Communities. Many of the reform movements were manifest in the formation of idealistic communities to revolutionize economic organization.

New Harmony. Robert Owen, the English philanthropist, founded a community at New Harmony, Indiana, in 1824. His economic ideas and educational system might have succeeded had he been less radical on religion and marriage. The fame of New Harmony led to the establishment of a dozen similar ventures.

Fourier's Phalanxes. In 1841 Albert Brisbane popularized the principles of the French philosopher Charles Fourier, who advocated the organization of society on the

basis of phalanxes or groups, not to exceed 1,800 persons, cooperating in industry, science, and art. More than thirty phalanxes were established in various states. The most famous was Brook Farm, originally founded by a group of New England transcendentalists.

Icarian Communities. The communistic proposals of Étienne Cabet were put to the test by his French followers in 1848, when they founded a colony on the Red River in Texas. Moving to Illinois the following year they became the center from which communities were established in Missouri, Iowa, and California.

Religious Radicalism. Religious influences were powerful in opening new horizons for this generation of Americans, but at times they became manifest in fantastic forms.

Sectarian Communism. Into the nineteenth century survived many of the sects which had founded religious communities in the eighteenth century. There were the Pietists (1694) and the Dunkers (1732) in Pennsylvania; the Shakers had founded their first community at Watervliet, New York, in 1776. Other German sects of prominence were the Harmony Society (1805), the Separatists (1817), and the Amana Society (1859).

Perfectionists. The religious society organized by John Humphrey Noyes at Putney, Vermont, established a famous and successful community at Oneida, New York. The Perfectionists retained their communal organization until 1881.

The Millerites. The sort of religious emotionalism which characterized the great revivals of the early nineteenth century was apparent in the response to the teachings of William Miller, who in 1832 began to preach the immediate second coming of Christ. His summons to a new way of life stirred multitudes in all parts of the country, many of whom made serious preparation for the end of the world in 1844.

Humanitarian Reforms. The forces of revealed religion were present in the great movements for social reform which this generation undertook in the belief that it was rapidly approaching its goal of a perfect society.

Aiding the Unfortunates. In their desire to remove all the barriers which hindered human progress the humanitarians paid especial attention to those who were physically or mentally handicapped. (1) In 1816 Thomas H. Gallaudet opened the first school for the teaching of deaf-mutes at Hartford, Connecticut. (2) Perkins Institute for the Education of the Blind (1829) represented the desire to open new avenues for these unfortunates. (3) The erection of the state asylum for the insane at Worcester, Massachusetts (1833), and the wonderful work of Dorothea Dix after 1841 revolutionized the treatment and care of mental defectives.

Revising the Penal System. The attacks against the injustice and barbarity of the penal system were directed particularly toward the following reforms: (1) the abolition of imprisonment for debt; (2) the modification of penal codes to remove inhuman punishments; (3) the provision of decent facilities in workhouses and jails; (4) the adoption of a sound program for the reformation of criminals.

Fighting Intemperance. The crusade against intemperance, which had been initiated by the writings of Benjamin Rush and Lyman Beecher, assumed formidable proportions after the creation of the American Temperance Society at Boston in 1826. Local auxiliaries and state societies, supported by the churches, enrolled thousands in the ranks of the signers of the temperance pledge. At first the reformers relied upon persuasion to effect their purposes, but in the decade of the forties many began to urge restrictive and prohibitory legislation against the liquor traffic as the best way to promote temperance. The Maine law of 1851, sponsored by Neal Dow, was the first state enactment forbidding the manufacture, importation, or sale of intoxicating beverages.

THE CAMPAIGN FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS. The participation of women in the humanitarian reforms was the immediate occasion for the campaign to remove the political and economic discriminations against them. The demand for civil rights, stressed by Lucretia Mott, Margaret Fuller, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, brought changes in the laws of several states concerning woman's control of her property after marriage. The Woman's Rights Convention, held at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848, was the first of several national conventions which demanded that women be given the ballot, that they be accorded equal opportunity with men to secure an education and to earn a living, and that all legal discrimination against them be removed.

Education. The cumulative effect of the forces favoring popular education was seen in the foundations of a public school system which were laid in the generation before the Civil War.

SECONDARY SCHOOLS. Although this period was marked by the growth of private schools, notably the academies, its most distinctive feature was the widespread acceptance by the various states of the fact that elementary education should be free, compulsory, and tax-supported. Massachusetts, under the leadership of Horace Mann from 1837 to 1848, set an example in organizing a system of secondary schools which was not lost on other states. Mann was a pioneer in broadening the curriculum, in creating professional morale among the teachers, and in providing ways and means of training teachers. In 1850 there were 80,000 elementary schools with 3,300,000 pupils and 6,000 high schools and academies with 250,000 students.

COLLEGES. The chief trends in higher education were reflected in the rapid increase in denominational colleges, the slow but steady growth of collegiate endowments, and the gradual expansion of the educational offering. The institutions of higher learning remained, however, primarily concerned with the training of youth for the Christian ministry.

Professional Training. Although most doctors and lawyers received their professional education through a system of apprenticeship, schools of medicine and law were established with increasing frequency in connection with the liberal arts colleges. Scientific and technical training was excellent at such schools as Rensselaer Institute, West Point Military Academy, Sheffield at Yale, and Lawrence at Harvard.

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE

The artistic contributions of the period were comparatively slight, as one might expect from the proportion of time and interest given to territorial expansion, political controversy, business activity, and social and economic reforms.

Literature. In literature alone, of all the arts, there were significant achievements during the period.

New England Renaissance. The revival of intellectual interests in New England in comparison with the sterility of the earlier periods took on the aspects of a "renaissance." Boston became the intellectual center of the country. Sectionalism dominated the writings of most of the New England school; historians like Palfrey, Ticknor, Bancroft, Hildreth, Prescott, and Motley either wrote the history of distant lands or displayed a New England bias in dealing with their own country. Parkman's classic volumes were an exception. Few of the literary group in Massachusetts — Hawthorne, Thoreau, Whittier, Longfellow, Lowell, or Holmes — were as typically American as Emerson, but even Emerson's fame did not rest upon any profound understanding, revealed in his writings, of the contemporary scene. He was an outstanding exemplar of his generation's buoyant confidence in human perfectibility.

Writers of the Middle East. The literary groups in New York and Philadelphia revealed none of the unifying traits which characterized the New England school. Irving's romanticism differed from that of Cooper; Herman Melville's

sense of futility was not akin to Walt Whitman's rebellion against his environment. The artistry of Edgar Allan Poe was unique in American letters.

THE SOUTH. The writers of the South were preoccupied with the defense of slavery. Even the greatest of the Southern novelists of the period, William Gilmore Simms, allowed his literary craftsmanship to suffer as he strove to win the approval of the slaveholding aristocracy of his section.

Painting. None of the portrait painters of the period following 1830 were as great in their art as Copley and Stuart of an earlier day. Probably the greatest advance was made in landscape painting by the artists of the "Hudson River School." New York became the principal art center of the country, especially after the formation of the National Academy of Design in 1828.

Sculpture and Architecture. The Greek influence was predominant both in sculpture and architecture during this period. American sculptors, most of whom secured their training in Italy, as did Hiram Powers and Thomas Crawford, produced little that was noteworthy and nothing that was really American in spirit. The architects, likewise, busy with the American phase of the world-wide Greek revival, followed classical forms whether they were designing country houses or state capitals. Too often their work seemed incongruous against its American background.

Music. In the field of musical art the American contribution was slight but certain developments were noteworthy: (1) the influence of the German choral societies in bringing some of the greatest music of the Old World to the New; (2) the improvement of church music through the work of such compilers as Lowell Mason; (3) the adaptation of Negro folk music in the songs of Stephen C. Foster; and (4) the growth of interest in musical art with the introduction of music into the schools.

The Theatre. Although the theatre gained in standing as popular prejudice was slowly overcome, its repertory showed little change. The actors were almost all English, but Edwin Forrest, Edwin Booth, and Charlotte Cushman were winning more than national fame. Relatively few plays by American playwrights were produced.

SCIENTIFIC ACHIEVEMENTS

Much more significant than their artistic accomplishments were the achievements of Americans in the field of science.

Pure Science. While it is easy to overestimate the contributions of Americans in the field of scientific research, the work of several scholars was noteworthy. J. J. Audubon in ornithology, Asa Gray in botany, Louis Agassiz in geology and zoology, Joseph Henry in physics, and Benjamin Silliman in chemistry earned international reputations.

Applied Science. The application of scientific principles to production, transportation, and communication in the era before the Civil War was the beginning of that process of mechanization which went forward so rapidly in the United States after 1865.

Medicine. One of the most important contributions made by Americans in the field of applied science was the introduction of the use of anesthetics in surgery. In 1844 Horace Wells, a Connecticut dentist, demonstrated that nitrous oxide could be used as an anesthetic; C. W. Long, a Georgia physician, published in 1849 his conclusions concerning the use of ether to deaden pain; W. T. G. Morton, a Boston dentist, performed the first successful operation on an etherized patient in 1846.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Discuss the factors which retarded industrial development in the United States at the close of the eighteenth century.
2. What social problems were aggravated by the increased foreign migration between 1820 and 1850?

3. What conditions were responsible for the rapid development of the railroad in the United States?
4. Do you discover any social philosophy which seems to be fundamental in the reform movements of the first half of the nineteenth century?
5. How do you account for the widespread interest in popular education? In what ways was this interest manifested?
6. What is meant by the "New England Renaissance"?
7. What American contributions in the field of the fine arts do you consider most significant?

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Significant Dates

Clay's Compromise	1850
Kansas-Nebraska Bill	1854
Dred Scott Decision	1857
Lincoln's Election	1860

CHAPTER XV

SLAVERY AND SECTIONALISM

THE ANTISLAVERY IMPULSE

The sectional controversy over slavery, which became acute after the Mexican War, was deeply rooted in the economic development of the nation since colonial days.

Free and Slave States. By the middle of the eighteenth century slavery had become universal in English America, but as the nation entered upon its independent existence the institution seemed to be declining.

GRADUAL EMANCIPATION IN NORTHERN STATES. Although slavery was indirectly recognized in the Constitution and Congress was forbidden to interfere with the importation of slaves for a period of twenty years, many of the states were already taking legal action against involuntary servitude. In

1780 the Massachusetts constitution abolished slavery by implication, and in the same year the Pennsylvania legislature made provision for gradual emancipation. New York declared in 1799 that all children born to slaves should be free after a period of apprenticeship. Gradual emancipation became the policy of all the Northeastern states.

Northwest Ordinance. The Ordinance of 1787, which organized the Northwest Territory, barred slavery from the territories which were later to comprise the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin. Thus the region east of the Mississippi came to be divided between slave and free territory.

Southern Criticism of Slavery. At the close of the eighteenth century sentiment in the Southern states was far from unanimous in support of slavery. Free labor was more important than slave labor in the western districts of many Southern states. Planters like Washington and George Mason doubted the economic value of the institution and feared its divisive influence in national affairs. Most Southerners did not oppose the prohibition of the foreign slave trade (1808); some were the leaders in the work of the American Colonization Society (1817), which attempted to colonize free Negroes in Liberia.

The Rise of Cotton. The most important factor in fastening the grip of slavery upon the South was the expansion of cotton culture in the nineteenth century.

Whitney's Cotton Gin (1793). Eli Whitney's invention of a machine to remove the seeds from raw cotton without injuring the fibre made it possible for Southern planters to produce profitably both the sea-island cotton of the coastal plain and the short-staple cotton which grew well in the uplands.

Expansion of Slavery. The profitable nature of cotton culture and the abundance of uncultivated land on which

cotton could be grown soon brought a sharp acceleration in the demand for Negroes to work cotton plantations. The demand was further increased by the opening of the river bottoms of Louisiana to sugar culture. As slavery expanded, the system changed from that of the small plantation with a few slaves to the large plantations with a gang system of enforced labor. Southerners turned from the raising of grains, rice, and tobacco to the cultivation of cotton and sugar cane.

The Proslavery Argument. The doubts concerning the economic desirability of slavery vanished before the growth of cotton culture and by 1830 the publicists and statesmen of the slave states had abandoned their criticism of an enforced labor system and were beginning to defend it as the sound basis of social organization. Their arguments, which may be traced in the writings of President Dew of William and Mary College, Chancellor Harper of South Carolina, and Governor Hammond of South Carolina, stressed (1) the historical and scriptural justification of slavery; (2) the economic advantages of the institution; and (3) the social benefits conferred upon the dominant white population.

The Antislavery Crusade. Southern apologists had many supporters in the free states, especially among the business interests associated with Southern trade, but the trend of sentiment in the North was ever more critical of human bondage.

Early Antislavery Societies. Prior to 1830 the antislavery societies carried on their work in so moderate a spirit that their leaders found it possible to organize societies in the slave states. Both Benjamin Lundy, the Quaker, and James G. Birney, the slaveholder, preached gradual emancipation to audiences in the Southern states.

Garrisonian Abolitionists. A sharp change in the temper of the opponents of slavery became manifest after William Lloyd Garrison began to publish the *Liberator*

(1831). The Garrisonians scorned gradual emancipation and demanded immediate abolition of slavery without compensation to the owners of slaves. So vigorous was their language that they aroused resentment even in the free states.

SOUTHERN REACTION. Within the slave states the attitude of the extreme abolitionists became a pretext for more determined insistence upon the legal and constitutional rights of the slaveholder. Abolitionists were charged with conspiring to stir up servile insurrection in the South, when the Nat Turner Rebellion broke out in Virginia (1831). Southern Congressmen demanded that abolitionist material be barred from the mails and persuaded the House of Representatives in 1836 to refuse to receive antislavery petitions ("gag rule").

EXPANSION AND SLAVERY

The most alarming feature of the slavery controversy was the struggle between the two sections over the status of slavery in the new territory added to the Union.

The Missouri Compromise. The solution of the slavery question in the Louisiana Territory had apparently been based upon the assumption that a political balance between the two sections of the country was both desirable and possible. The association of Oregon and Texas in the expansionist movement of the forties was an attempt to maintain the semblance of equality between slave and free territory as the American people moved the borders westward.

The Compromise of 1850. The acquisition of the Mexican Cession and the rapid settlement of California during the gold rush specifically raised the issue of slavery extension at a time when the Free-Soil party was trying to make opposition to slavery in the territories a political principle in the North.

THE WILMOT PROVISO. In 1846 David Wilmot, a Northern Democrat, introduced a resolution to the effect that

The UNITED STATES
BY THE COMPROMISE OF 1850
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
DOMINION OF CANADA
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
CLOSED TO SLAVERY
OPEN TO SLAVERY
FREE STATES
SLAVE STATES
ORIGINAL SLAVE STATES
ORIGINAL FREE STATES
OREGON TERRITORY
MINNESOTA TERRITORY 1849
INDIAN TERRITORY
WISCONSIN 1848
IOWA 1846
ILLINOIS 1818
INDIANA 1816
OHIO 1803
MICHIGAN
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW YORK
MAINE 1820
VIRGINIA
KENTUCKY 1792
TENNESSEE 1796
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALABAMA 1819
MISSISSIPPI 1817
LOUISIANA 1812
ARKANSAS 1836
MISSOURI 1821
CALIFORNIA 1850
(FREE)
UTAH TERRITORY 1862
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY 1850
INDIAN TERRITORY
GADSDEN PURCHASE FROM MEXICO 1853
TEXAS 1845
Oregon Trail
Pony Express
Fremont 1842-44
Santa Fe Trail
Salt Lake City
Cheyenne
Omaha
Fort Kearny
Fort Laramie
Fort Bridger
Sutters Fort
Cars
Mt. Superior
Lake Superior
Lake Michigan
Lake Huron
Lake Erie
Lake Ontario
Mississippi River
Missouri River
Ohio River
Cumberland Road
Mason & Dixon's Line
Line of Compromise
Rio Grande
Rio Colorado
Rio Gila
Rio Pecos
St. Lawrence River
Hudson River
Potomac River
Chesapeake Bay
Delaware River
Gulf of St. Lawrence
Gulf of California
Gulf of Mexico
Atlantic Ocean
Pacific Ocean
Dominion of Canada
Mexico
Washington
Philadelphia
Baltimore
Cincinnati
Chicago
Cleveland
Detroit
Buffalo
Boston
Portland
Quebec
Montreal
Toronto
Ottawa
Winnipeg
Vancouver
Victoria
Seattle
Portland
San Francisco
Los Angeles
San Diego
Sacramento
Salt Lake City
Denver
Cheyenne
Omaha
Kansas City
St. Louis
New Orleans
Mobile
Savannah
Charleston
Norfolk
Richmond
Pittsburgh
Cleveland
Chicago
Milwaukee
Detroit
Buffalo
Albany
New York

slavery should be forever barred from any territory acquired from Mexico as a result of war or purchase. The resolution may have reflected the resentment of Northern Democrats over the preponderant Southern influence in the councils of the Polk administration, but it precipitated a bitter struggle in Congress.

Compromise Proposals. When California drafted a constitution and applied for admission into the Union as a free state, threats of disunion were heard. Various solutions of the slavery question in the Mexican Cession were proposed: (1) that the Missouri Compromise line be extended to the Pacific; (2) that Congress leave the matter to the decision of the federal courts; (3) that any decision regarding slavery be left to the people of the territory when they should be ready for statehood; and (4) that Congress take steps to protect the slaveholder as he went into the territory with his slave property.

Clay's Resolutions. In January, 1850, Henry Clay introduced in the Senate a series of resolutions, five of which finally became the basis of the settlement known as the Compromise of 1850. The provisions were: (1) California was to be admitted as a free state; (2) the slave trade, but not slavery, was to be abolished in the District of Columbia; (3) Congress was to enact a more effective fugitive slave law; (4) the public debt of Texas acquired before 1845 was to be paid by the United States as an indemnity for the state's relinquishment of its claims to a part of New Mexico; (5) territorial governments were to be established in New Mexico and Utah with the provision that either might be admitted to the Union with or without slavery, as they might determine.

Finality of the Compromise. The sectional truce was opposed by proslavery extremists like Calhoun, and by antislavery men like Seward and Chase. It received the support of conservative Northerners like Webster, and the more

moderate representatives of Southern opinion. Politicians, North and South, insisted that the Compromise was the final settlement of the slavery question. The Democrats, nominating Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire, promised to maintain the Compromise principles against every attack, and won a resounding victory over the Whigs, who had nominated Winfield Scott, a military hero. Scott, who was suspected of free-soil sentiments, received only 42 out of 296 electoral votes.

THE DISRUPTION OF THE SECTIONAL TRUCE

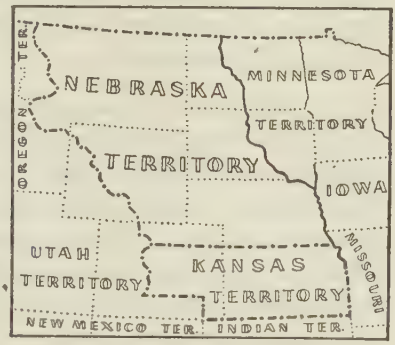
The valiant efforts of cautious political leaders and conservative business interests could not prevent the speedy disruption of the sectional truce of 1850.

Fugitive Slave Law. Antislavery groups in the North were incensed over the provisions of the Fugitive Slave Law. They denounced it because it failed to provide for a jury trial in the case of suspects, because it applied to slaves who had fled from their masters years before, and because it permitted federal officials to compel any citizen to aid in the apprehension and return of fugitives. Mass meetings in Northern cities resolved that they would not obey the law, while state legislatures finally passed "personal liberty laws" which prohibited the use of local jails for the confinement of fugitives. Southerners indignantly accused the North of deliberate intent to violate the Compromise.

Projects for Slavery Extension. Northerners, in turn, insisted that the South was keeping the slavery issue alive by its attempts to secure additional territory. They pointed to (1) the filibustering expeditions of López in Cuba (1850, 1851) which were supported by influential Southerners; (2) the famous Ostend Manifesto (1854), signed by Soulé, Buchanan, and Mason, which covertly suggested that Cuba should be acquired by the United States; and (3) the activities

of William Walker in Nicaragua, which seemed to have the blessing of Southern extremists.

The Kansas-Nebraska Bill (1854). The most fateful factor in undoing the sectional truce was the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, repealing the Missouri Compromise which had settled the slavery question in the Louisiana Purchase territory.



Kansas-Nebraska Act — Boundaries of Kansas and Nebraska territories

Douglas' Motives. Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, who championed the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, has often been accused of proposing the measure in order to promote his presidential ambitions by currying favor with the South. Other considerations must have entered into this decision: (1) the fact that the Missouri planters, led by Senator Atchison, were demanding that the territory west of their state be thrown open to settlement without restrictions as to slavery; (2) the fact that Douglas, who had no moral convictions on the slavery issue, believed that the principle of popular sovereignty which had been applied in part of the Mexican Cession was the best solution for the slaveholders' demand that the Louisiana Purchase be opened to them; (3) the fact that Douglas hoped to use the organization and settlement of Nebraska as a means of stimulating the growth of the Northwest and of making Chicago the eastern terminus of the first transcontinental railroad.

Political Results. The political results of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill were far-reaching. The Whig party was split asunder, as the bulk of the Northern Whigs refused to support the measure. The Anti-Nebraska Democrats in the

North left their party in protest. In the resultant confusion the Know-Nothing party received considerable support from Whigs and Democrats who had not yet found a new party allegiance. Throughout the North free-soil sentiment was enormously strengthened.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY (1854-1856). The most significant political development was the formation of the Republican party, which held its first national convention in 1856. The party was purely sectional in its appeal, for its cardinal principle was opposition to the extension of slavery anywhere within the territories of the United States. In composition it represented the Free-Soil party, the antislavery Whigs, and the anti-Nebraska Democrats.

Civil War in Kansas. The principle of popular sovereignty, contained in the legislation of 1854, was soon put to the test on the soil of Kansas.

RIVAL FACTIONS. The antislavery as well as the proslavery forces sent their representatives into Kansas. The proslavery men by fraudulent methods elected a majority of the territorial legislature (1855) and established a government at Shawnee Mission; the free-soil element held a convention at Topeka and framed a free-state constitution. The Pierce administration supported the Shawnee government.

"BLEEDING KANSAS." The tension within the territory led to civil war in 1856. The free-state men fortified their capital, Lawrence; and it was wrecked by the proslavery forces. In retaliation John Brown led a small band in an attack on a settlement near Pottawatomie Creek, where five proslavery men were murdered. Guerrilla warfare continued despite the presence of United States troops in the territory.

THE LECOMPTON CONSTITUTION (1857). President Buchanan promised to restore order in Kansas and to give the bona fide settlers an opportunity to express their views on slavery. Nevertheless, he supported the Lecompton Con-

stitution, which was drawn by the proslavery faction in such fashion that the voters could vote only on the question of the further admission of slaves. Slave property within the territory was safeguarded by the constitution, regardless of whether further introduction of slaves was authorized.

Election of 1856. The Kansas strife was at its height in 1856, when the new Republican party made its appeal to the country. It vigorously denounced the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the Democratic policy in Kansas. Since the party membership was confined to the North, and the organization was untried, the Republicans were elated that their candidate, John C. Frémont, received 114 electoral votes against 174 for the successful Democrat, Buchanan.

THE REPUBLICAN STRATEGY

With the emergence of the Republican party as the major opponent of the Democratic party the drift toward disunion was accelerated. Divergent social attitudes, based upon radically different economic systems, thwarted every effort at conciliation and compromise.

The Dred Scott Decision (1857). In an attempt to settle the slavery controversy by judicial decision the Supreme Court merely succeeded in increasing the hostile feeling between the two sections.

THE COURT'S OPINION. Dred Scott, a slave residing in Missouri, had been taken by his master into the free state of Illinois and later into the northern part of the Louisiana Purchase, where slavery had been forbidden by the Missouri Compromise. Scott sued for his freedom and the case finally reached the Supreme Court. The majority opinion, written by Chief Justice Taney, held that no Negro could be a citizen of the United States and that therefore Scott could not bring suit in the federal courts. More important was the obiter dictum in which the Court announced that Congress had no right to prohibit slavery in the territories and that the Mis-

souri Compromise had been null and void from the day of its enactment.

Significance of the Decision. The decision delighted the South, which now saw slavery protected by constitutional guarantees in every part of the national territories. The Republican party, which was demanding congressional legislation against slavery in the territories, was placed on the defensive.

The Lincoln-Douglas Debates (1858). The slavery question in the light of the Dred Scott decision was the momentous issue in the celebrated debates between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas.

Douglas' Popularity. The Northern Democrats followed Douglas in his acceptance of the Dred Scott decision as good law and in his insistence that it in no way vitiated the principle of popular sovereignty as the solvent of the slavery issue. After Douglas quarreled with the Buchanan administration over the Lecompton Constitution and demanded a fair trial for popular sovereignty in Kansas, even some of the Republicans rallied to his support and urged his re-election to the Senate from Illinois.

The Freeport Doctrine. Abraham Lincoln, after a disappointing career as a Whig politician, emerged as a powerful leader of the Western Republicans. Convinced that Douglas and his doctrines were more dangerous for Republican principles than even the demands of the extreme Southerners, Lincoln accepted the Republican nomination for the Senate against Douglas and challenged his opponent to a series of debates. At Freeport he compelled Douglas to admit that in spite of the Dred Scott decision the people of a territory might exclude slavery. The Democratic leader explained that although slavery might be "legal" in a territory it could not exist where the people failed to enact legislation "friendly" to it. Such an explanation merely emphasized the gulf be-

tween Douglas and the Southern Democrats, who were demanding complete protection for their institution.

LINCOLN'S LEADERSHIP. The debates with Douglas made Lincoln one of the foremost spokesmen of the Republican party. His friends began to organize the campaign which was to bring him the presidential nomination in 1860.

John Brown's Raid (1859). This attempt of a deluded fanatic to stage a servile insurrection was ended after Brown and his little band had seized the arsenal at Harper's Ferry and had been captured by United States marines. Brown was hanged in December, 1859. To many Southerners the raid appeared as "the invasion of a state by a murderous gang of abolitionists bent on inciting slaves to murder helpless women and children." They regarded it as the result of the principles of the Republican party.

The Election of 1860. The presidential election of 1860 marked the triumph of a party which polled practically all its votes in the free states of the North.

THE DEMOCRATIC SCHISM. The refusal of the Democratic Convention to accept a proslavery platform caused the delegates from the lower South to bolt and nominate John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. The regular Democrats nominated Douglas.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL UNIONISTS. The remnants of the old Whig party and the Know-Nothings united to form the Constitutional Unionists, who were committed to the maintenance of the Union and compromise on the slavery question.

THE REPUBLICAN VICTORY. The Republican convention nominated Abraham Lincoln and reaffirmed its hostility to slavery in the territories. At the same time it sought to win favor with the agricultural and business interests by advocating a homestead act and a protective tariff. The contest in the free states was really between Lincoln and Douglas; in the slave states between Breckinridge and Bell. Although

Lincoln received a large majority in the electoral college, he had only 40 per cent of the popular vote.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Explain the change in the attitude of the South toward slavery which became evident in the second quarter of the nineteenth century.
2. What was the defense of slavery offered by Southern apologists in the proslavery argument?
3. Why was it impossible for the moderates to maintain a sectional truce on the basis of the Compromise of 1850?
4. Discuss the political consequences of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise.
5. Explain Lincoln's attitude toward the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Dred Scott.
6. What was the significance of John Brown's Raid?
7. How do you account for the victory of the Republican party in the election of 1860?

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Significant Dates

Secession of South Carolina	1860
Attack on Fort Sumter	1861
Peninsular Campaign	1862
Emancipation Proclamation	1863
Appomattox	1865

CHAPTER XVI

THE WAR FOR SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE

THE SECESSIONISTS

South Carolina made the election of Abraham Lincoln the occasion for an ordinance of secession which was passed by a special convention on December 20, 1860. By February 4, 1861, the other six states of the lower South had left the Union and organized the Confederate States of America.

Causes of Secession. The movement for secession, which was opposed by some Southerners on the basis of principle and by others on grounds of expediency, had been gathering strength for a decade, especially in the cotton states.

SUBORDINATE POSITION OF THE SOUTH. Southern leaders were disturbed by the evidence that their section was losing its commanding position in federal affairs. The political bal-

ance was destroyed between 1850 and 1860 as California, Minnesota, and Oregon — all free states — were admitted to the Union. All avenues for Southern expansion seemed to be closed. Southerners consequently feared that their inferior position would prevent them from protecting themselves against the economic interests of the industrial North.

Violations of Southern Rights. The secessionists charged the North with a series of acts which infringed the constitutional rights of the slave states. The list of grievances included: (1) the abolitionist propaganda; (2) the activities of the underground railroad in the Northern states; (3) the passage of personal liberty acts; and (4) the formation of a political party hostile to the basic Southern institution, slavery.

Fear of the Republican Party. Although the Republican politicians insisted that their party would not interfere with slavery in the Southern states, such promises were not a guarantee against the control of the party machinery by the abolitionists. Republican success meant the complete eclipse of the South so far as federal offices were concerned. Furthermore, the Republicans were championing (1860) a protective tariff, a homestead act, and a railroad to connect the Pacific Coast with the old Northwest, measures which the South had consistently opposed.

Advantages of Secession. The Southern extremists argued that their section would prosper more outside the Union because: (1) direct and unhampered trade with Europe could be established; (2) discriminatory taxes and tariffs could be abolished; (3) the African slave trade could be revived and the cost of labor lowered; (4) necessity would compel the development of manufacturing, banking, and commerce to meet the needs of an independent South.

Possibility of Peaceful Revolt. The more timid Southerners were reassured by the secessionists, who argued that the speed with which the South had recovered from the Panic of 1857 proved the economic power of cotton and the sound-

ness of the plantation economy. The North, threatened with the loss of cotton and the Southern market, would not dare forcibly to oppose secession. If war came, the South could count upon the intervention of Great Britain, anxious to save its textile industries, and the support of the Ohio Valley, closely connected to the Cotton Kingdom by commercial ties.

Northern Reaction to Secession. Confused counsels marked the reaction of Northerners to the secession of the Southern states. The abolitionists were glad to be rid of the "nefarious institution," slavery. There was strong opposition among the business interests, with Southern connections, to the idea of coercion in order to preserve the Union.

Buchanan's Vacillation. President Buchanan maintained that there was no constitutional right of secession, but he denied that there was any power vested in the federal government to compel the states to obey the laws of the Union. Surrounded by a cabinet in which Southern influence was predominant, he refused to send reinforcements to Fort Sumter or to take steps to collect customs and enforce the laws in the seceded states.

Compromise Attempts. Numerous schemes for reconciliation were proposed during the winter of 1860-1861. The most important were the Crittenden Compromise and the Virginia Peace Convention.

a. *Crittenden Compromise.* The essence of the plan advocated by Senator J. J. Crittenden of Kentucky was contained in five "permanent" amendments to the Constitution: (1) protecting slavery in the states where it was legal; (2) sanctioning the domestic slave trade; (3) guaranteeing payment by the United States for escaped slaves; (4) forbidding Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of Virginia and Maryland; and (5) reviving the Missouri Compromise line. The Republicans at Lincoln's insistence refused to endorse any compromise

which permitted the extension of slavery into any federal territory.

b. *Peace Convention (1861).* This gathering, sponsored chiefly by Virginians, contained representatives from thirty-three states who worked for a month to formulate a program of conciliation. Their final proposals, which differed little from the Crittenden Compromise, were virtually ignored by Congress.

LINCOLN'S POLICY

The evolution of Lincoln's policy was determined by his desire to unite the sentiment of the North behind the administration, his belief that some of the slave states would remain loyal to the federal government, and his refusal to permit secession to disrupt the Union.

Lincoln's Cabinet. In his selection of his cabinet advisers Lincoln attempted to secure a composite group reflecting the various opinions which would have to be reconciled to insure Republican success. William H. Seward of New York (State) represented the old antislavery Whigs; Salmon P. Chase of Ohio (Treasury) and Gideon Welles of Connecticut (Navy) had been anti-Nebraska Democrats; Simon Cameron of Pennsylvania (War) and Caleb Smith of Indiana (Interior) were leaders of important political machines; Edward Bates of Missouri (Attorney-General) and Montgomery Blair of Maryland (Postmaster-General) represented the border slave states.

Fort Sumter. Lincoln was determined to hold Forts Sumter and Pickens, but he hesitated to take any action which might be interpreted in the border slave states as an aggressive move against the Confederacy. His decision on April 6 to send provisions to Major Anderson and the troops in Fort Sumter confirmed the Confederate authorities in their opinion that the time had arrived to drive Federal forces from Charleston harbor. The bombardment of Fort Sumter (April 12-13)

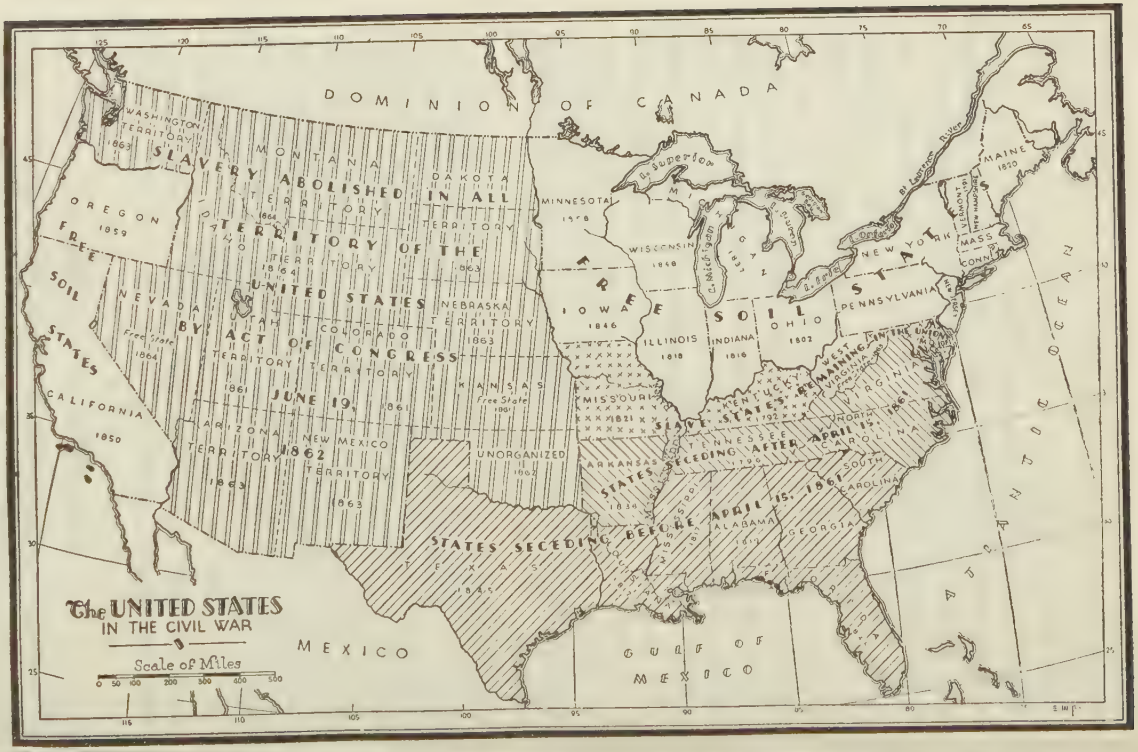
ended Lincoln's hesitation. On April 15 he issued a proclamation calling upon the governors of the loyal states for 75,000 militia to serve for three months.

The Border Slave States. The appeal to arms which followed Sumter tested the loyalty of the border slave states to the Union. Virginia, Arkansas, North Carolina, and Tennessee seceded, casting their lot with the Confederacy. The capital of the Confederate States was moved from Montgomery to Richmond. In four other slave states — Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri — Unionist sentiment proved strong enough to prevent secession. In Maryland the vigor of the Union men, strongly supported by the administration, was responsible for holding the state in the Union. In Kentucky Lincoln's astute program of conciliation finally overcame the influence of the secessionist Governor Magoffin. In Missouri civil war broke out between the forces aligned with Governor Jackson, an ardent secessionist, and friends of the Union, who could count upon the loyalty of the German population.

The Belligerents. The superiority of the North in manpower and resources was great. The total population of the Confederacy was 8,700,000 (of whom 3,500,000 were slaves) while the North had a population of 22,700,000. In transportation facilities, industrial establishments, liquid capital, foodstuffs, the North likewise possessed a decided advantage. To offset the disparity, the South relied upon the great volume of cotton exports (if they could be maintained), the defensive character of the war, the superior training of its volunteers for the struggle, and the large number of competent military leaders who were available.

THE RESORT TO ARMS

The administration's program of offensive warfare came to include three principal objectives: the capture of Richmond, the control of the Mississippi River, and the effective blockade of the ports of the Confederacy.


The UNITED STATES
IN THE CIVIL WAR
Scale of Miles
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
DOMINION OF CANADA
MEXICO
GULF OF MEXICO
ATLANTIC OCEAN
SLAVERY ABOLISHED IN ALL TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES BY ACT OF CONGRESS JUNE 19, 1862
FREE SOIL STATES
STATES SECEDING BEFORE APRIL 15, 1861
STATES SECEDING AFTER APRIL 15, 1861
REMAINING IN THE UNION
WASHINGTON TERRITORY 1863
MONTANA TERRITORY 1864
DAKOTA TERRITORY 1861
NEBRASKA TERRITORY 1863
COLORADO TERRITORY 1861
UTAH TERRITORY 1850
NEVADA TERRITORY 1864
ARIZONA TERRITORY 1863
NEW MEXICO TERRITORY 1863
KANSAS Free State 1861
UNORGANIZED 1862
OREGON 1859
CALIFORNIA 1850
MINNESOTA 1858
WISCONSIN 1848
IOWA 1846
ILLINOIS 1818
INDIANA 1816
OHIO 1802
MICHIGAN 1837
MISSOURI 1821
ARKANSAS 1836
TENNESSEE 1796
KENTUCKY 1792
VIRGINIA
NORTH CAROLINA
SOUTH CAROLINA
GEORGIA
ALABAMA 1819
MISSISSIPPI 1817
LOUISIANA 1812
TEXAS 1845
FLORIDA 1845
NEW YORK
PENNSYLVANIA
NEW JERSEY
DELAWARE
MARYLAND
MAINE 1820
MASS.
CONN.
VERMONT
NEW HAMPSHIRE
L. Superior
L. Michigan
L. Huron
L. Erie
L. Ontario
St. Lawrence River

"On to Richmond." The defensive strategy of the Southern commanders — Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, and Thomas J. Jackson — withstood every attempt of Federal troops to take the Confederate capital during the early years of the war.

Battle of Bull Run (July, 1861). Northern forces under General Irvin McDowell, eager to seize Richmond, were checked by the Confederates at Bull Run. The struggle between the two demoralized armies resulted in the rout of the Federal troops. The necessity of more adequate preparation for the combat was impressed upon both belligerents.

The Peninsular Campaign (March-July, 1862). After Bull Run, George B. McClellan, fresh from a victorious campaign in West Virginia, was given command of the Army of the Potomac, which he reorganized, drilled, and equipped for the advance on Richmond. Ordered by the President to set his splendid army in motion, he finally decided to approach Richmond by way of Fortress Monroe and the peninsula between the York and James rivers. With the utmost caution he proceeded from Yorktown to White House, to Fair Oaks, and thence to within sight of Richmond, where he waited in vain for reinforcements. After meeting the counteroffensive of Lee's troops successfully at Malvern Hill, he decided that his position was untenable and abandoned the campaign.

The Battle of Antietam. McClellan was removed from command, but after Pope had suffered a disastrous defeat at the hands of "Stonewall" Jackson in the Second Battle of Bull Run, the former leader of the Army of the Potomac was recalled to stop Lee's invasion of the North. The two armies met at Antietam (September 17, 1862), and Lee was compelled to retreat. McClellan failed to follow up his victory and was superseded by General A. E. Burnside.

Battle of Gettysburg. Lee inflicted a disastrous defeat on Burnside at Fredericksburg (December, 1862), and at Chancellorsville (May, 1863) out-generalled Burnside's suc-

cessor, "Fighting Joe" Hooker. For the summer of 1863 he planned an invasion of the North. His advance through Maryland into Pennsylvania was halted by the Army of the Potomac, now under George G. Meade, at Gettysburg in one of the decisive battles of the war.

Opening the Mississippi. The federal government was far more successful in its efforts to secure control of the Mississippi than it was in its offensives against Richmond.

Grant's Campaigns. Early in 1862 General U. S. Grant secured General Halleck's permission to advance against the Confederate defenses on the Tennessee and Cumberland rivers. With the aid of river gunboats under Flag Officer Foote, he captured Fort Henry on the Tennessee and a few weeks later Fort Donelson on the Cumberland. He advanced up the Tennessee and withstood a vigorous Confederate attack on the bloody field of Shiloh (April 6-7, 1862).

Capture of New Orleans. Several weeks later Flag Officer David G. Farragut, commanding seventeen ships, ran past the shore batteries protecting New Orleans and secured control of the city. The Confederates now were in possession of the river between Vicksburg and Port Hudson.

Capture of Vicksburg. Late in the autumn of 1862 Grant began his long campaign against Vicksburg. Supported by Admiral Porter's gunboats, he managed after great effort to place his troops in such a position as to besiege the city. For six weeks the Confederates held out, capitulating on July 4, 1863. The capture of Vicksburg gave the Federal forces complete control of the Mississippi and severed Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas from the remainder of the Confederacy.

The Blockade. In April, 1861, President Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of the Atlantic Coast from South Carolina to Florida. Thus was inaugurated the attempt to starve the Confederacy into submission.

Northern Naval Supremacy. At the outbreak of hostilities the South had no navy and virtually no merchant marine from which a navy could be improvised. The North on the other hand was constantly augmenting its squadrons. By the close of 1862 the federal navy controlled all the important ports except Wilmington, Charleston, and Mobile. The blockade-runners found it increasingly difficult to carry on their trade through ports in the West Indies.

Monitor versus Merrimac. The Confederates made a bold attempt to break the blockade when they reconstructed the frigate *Merrimac* as an ironclad and sent her into Hampton Roads (March 8, 1862) to demolish the wooden ships of the Federal navy. She might have accomplished her mission had it not been for the appearance of another ironclad, the *Monitor,* built for the United States government. The duel between the two was indecisive but the attempt to break the blockade was thwarted. Henceforth wooden ships were obsolete.

Effects of the Blockade. The steady pressure of the cordon of ships slowly starved the South. Rations were reduced; clothing, shoes, medicines were lacking; the transportation system broke down for want of replacements; general destitution made support of the armies in the field increasingly difficult.

The Closing Campaigns. After Gettysburg and Vicksburg the South fought valiantly but vainly to prevent the collapse of the Confederacy.

War in the West. Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas co-operated in the autumn of 1863 to rescue Rosecrans, who was besieged at Chattanooga, and to win the battles of Lookout Mountain and Missionary Ridge. In the spring of 1864 Sherman began his invasion of Georgia and by September 1 had captured Atlanta.

Sherman's March to the Sea. While Thomas held the Confederates out of Tennessee, Sherman cut loose from his

base of supplies and marched across Georgia to Savannah, which he entered on December 20, 1864.

Grant's Hammer Blows. With the Army of the Potomac under his direct supervision Grant advanced relentlessly toward Richmond in the famous Wilderness campaign of 1864. His powerful but costly frontal attacks on the Confederates finally brought him victory in the spring of the following year. The cumulative effects of the Confederate reverses on land and sea made it impossible for Lee to prolong the unequal combat. He surrendered his army at Appomattox Court House on April 9, 1865. Johnston's surrender to Sherman a few weeks later brought to an end the armed resistance of the Confederacy.

THE BUSINESS OF WAR

The war imposed problems upon the governmental authorities, both North and South, the solution of which had far-reaching consequences.

Filling the War Chest. Governmental revenues came chiefly from taxation, the issuance of legal-tender notes, and the borrowing of money.

Taxation. Constant increases in custom duties carried the average ad valorem rate to 47 per cent. The treasury collected more than $305,000,000 in duties. Internal revenue taxes and taxes on incomes amounted to $356,846,000.

Legal Tenders. The reluctance of the politicians to impose burdensome taxes resulted in the resort to fiat money in the form of "greenbacks," which were legal tender for all debts public and private. These notes, which were in the nature of a forced loan, depreciated in value as their amount increased and the fortunes of the government on the field of battle declined. At the close of the war $431,000,000 were in circulation.

Borrowing. The government obtained more than three times as much from loans as from all other sources.

a. *Bonds and Notes.* Short-term loans were effected through treasury notes in small denominations, carrying interest as high as 7 per cent. The long-term bonds were issued with interest rates of 5 and 6 per cent.

b. *National Bank Act (1863).* This act promoted the sale of government bonds, but its primary purpose was to provide federal regulation for the banking system of the country. It provided for the creation of national banks, each of which was required to purchase federal bonds to the extent of one-third of its capital stock and to deposit them with the Treasury. Against this security the bank might issue bank notes up to 90 per cent of the value of the bonds. These national bank notes gradually replaced the confused issues of the state banks, which were subjected to a 10 per cent tax in 1866.

Southern Finances. When the blockade prevented any substantial revenue from customs, the Confederate government resorted to requisitions on the states, but the method was disappointing. Comprehensive excises and heavy income taxes were imposed. Fiat money was issued, though it was not made legal tender for private debts. Bond issues, except the first in 1861, failed to produce much specie. The most important foreign loan was placed with Émile Erlanger, the Paris banker, in 1863 and was based upon cotton.

Freeing the Slaves. Although the Lincoln administration insisted that the war was being waged to preserve the Union, the abolition of slavery finally was included in the list of war aims.

Compensated Emancipation. Lincoln's program with reference to slavery was based upon gradual emancipation with compensation and possible colonization of the free Negroes outside the United States. He worked hard to persuade the representatives of the loyal slave states to accept emancipation with compensation on condition that the federal government bear part of the financial burden, but he failed. Con-

gress did free the slaves in the District of Columbia and reimburse their owners (1862).

Contraband. General B. F. Butler treated slaves who came into the Federal lines as contraband of war, because they were property used in war service, and confiscated them. The principle was applied by Congress in the first Confiscation Act (1861). Lincoln felt that the Second Confiscation Act (1862) was premature when it provided that the slaves of rebel masters, regardless of the service of the slaves, should be free of their servitude if they came within Federal lines.

Emancipation Proclamation (1863). Lincoln finally came to the conclusion that the freeing of the slaves might be used as a military punishment for the Confederate states. Immediately after the Battle of Antietam (September 22, 1862) he announced that on January 1, 1863, he would declare "forever free" the slaves in all the states which were still in arms against the authority of the federal government on that date. The effect of the Proclamation in Europe, especially in Great Britain, was highly favorable to the Northern cause. It had no immediate effect upon the military situation, however, except to unify sentiment in the slave states and to alienate some of the Northern conservatives from the administration.

Thirteenth Amendment. In December, 1863, the House of Representatives received a resolution for a Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution prohibiting slavery within the United States or any place subject to its jurisdiction. Not until January, 1865, could the necessary two-thirds majorities in Congress be obtained. The amendment was then referred to the state legislatures, three-fourths of which ratified by December, 1865. Thus the abolition of slavery was made final and legal.

Maintaining Morale. In the North as well as the South the powers of the general government were stretched to meet

the exigencies of war. Restraint of civil liberty was deemed necessary in order to quiet criticism of governmental policies.

LINCOLN'S WAR POWERS. Although early decisions of the Supreme Court had held that the writ of habeas corpus could be suspended only by act of Congress, Lincoln constantly suspended the writ wherever he felt that the safety of the country demanded it. Even after Congress passed a law (March, 1863) providing that suspects could not be kept in prison more than twenty days without indictment by a grand jury, Lincoln continued to authorize political arrests and to uphold sentences by military tribunals. The Supreme Court (1866) held in the case of *Ex parte Milligan* that the administration had violated constitutional rights.

CONFEDERATE POLICIES. The Davis administration proceeded more cautiously in its exercise of war powers. The writ of habeas corpus was suspended under authorization of the Confederate Congress (February, 1862). So strong was the opposition in many of the states, where the state courts continued to issue the writ, that Congress in August, 1864, withdrew the President's authority.

Political Dissensions. Factional strife, which seriously embarrassed the Lincoln administration, developed during the war within the ranks of both political parties.

REPUBLICANS. In some sections a sharp division developed within the Republican party between the Radicals, who demanded the immediate abolition of slavery, and the Conservatives, who believed that abolition was subordinate to the preservation of the Union in the Republican program. Lincoln's conduct of the war was the subject of frequent attack by the Radicals.

DEMOCRATIC FACTIONS. Many of the Democrats, generally known as "War Democrats," loyally supported the Lincoln government. The regular party organizations conducted political contests against Lincoln's supporters. A militant mi-

nority of Democrats, who were called "Copperheads," demanded peace without victory and bitterly attacked the President for his despotism. This faction, strong in the old Northwest, carried on its propaganda through secret orders such as the Knights of the Golden Circle, the Sons of Liberty, and the American Knights.

Administration Supporters. The Lincoln government was really supported by a coalition of Republicans and War Democrats. This fact was recognized in 1864 when Lincoln insisted that Andrew Johnson, a War Democrat, be named for second place on the ticket of the Union Republican party. The Democrats made substantial gains in the congressional elections of 1862 as a result of the dissatisfaction with the administration's attitude toward slavery, political arrests, and the conduct of the war. Many political observers believed that Lincoln could not be re-elected in 1864 in a campaign against General George B. McClellan, who had been nominated by the regular Democrats and their "Copperhead" allies. Timely military victories probably helped the President to secure 212 electoral votes to his opponent's 21.

Prosperity of the North. After the financial panic and business uncertainty which marked the first months of the war the North prospered mightily. The general trend of its economic activity was reflected in the statistics showing (1) increased production of raw materials by farm and mine, (2) unprecedented output of manufactured goods, (3) growth of transportation facilities, and (4) expansion of trade and commerce. Fortunes were accumulated with great rapidity through fortunate financial speculations, lucrative war contracts, and judicious industrial investments. The fact that salaries and wages lagged behind prices brought poverty and suffering to some at a time when others were setting a standard of ill-advised extravagance.

AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH EUROPE

The policies of European powers during the war years were matters of deep concern for the government of the United States and that of the Confederacy.

British Policy. The Confederacy entered the war with hope that England's dependence upon cotton would bring a speedy recognition of Southern independence. Lincoln devoted all of his efforts to prevent such action on the part of the British government.

Failure to Recognize the Confederacy. Although Great Britain early accorded the Confederate government the rights of a belligerent, she failed to recognize the independence of the Confederate States of America. The reasons for the failure were numerous: (1) the hostility of the British working classes to the cause of the South; (2) the support accorded the North by British antislavery sentiment, especially after the Emancipation Proclamation; (3) the reliance of Great Britain on Northern wheat; (4) the failure of the South to win a decisive victory; and (5) the successful diplomacy of the Lincoln administration.

The Trent Affair. The United States and Great Britain were brought to the verge of war in 1861 by the action of Captain Charles Wilkes in stopping the British steamship *Trent* on the high seas and removing J. M. Mason and John Slidell, who had been appointed Confederate commissioners to Great Britain and France respectively. The British government was insistent in its demands for liberation of the commissioners and a disavowal of the act. Lincoln tactfully met the British demands after the resentment in this country over the British attitude had subsided.

Confederate Cruisers. The Palmerston ministry, secretly sympathetic with the South, was extremely negligent in fulfilling its obligations as a neutral government. Cruisers intended for the Confederate service were constructed in Brit-

ish shipyards. In 1862 the *Florida, Alabama,* and *Shenandoah* were delivered to the Confederate government by intermediaries, and began their destructive attacks upon the merchant shipping of the North. The vigorous protests of Ambassador Adams in 1863 compelled the British government to detain several ironclads which were being constructed. Thereafter Great Britain was more scrupulous in enforcing her neutrality. The activity of the commerce-destroyers subsequently became the basis for our *Alabama* Claims against the British government.

Napoleon III. Napoleon's government in France paid scant attention to its obligations as a neutral. The Emperor tried vainly to persuade Great Britain and Russia to join him in forcing the United States to agree to an armistice. He permitted ships to be constructed for the Confederacy, and he assisted the Confederate commissioners to place the famous Erlanger loan. Taking advantage of the war, he violated the Monroe Doctrine by placing Maximilian of Austria on the throne of a Mexican Empire which had been created by French troops. He refused to withdraw from Mexico until the United States sent General Philip Sheridan to the Mexican border at the close of the Civil War.

Russia's Friendship. Russia, Prussia, and the Scandinavian countries were favorably disposed toward the United States during the war. Russia made her attitude conspicuous by sending her fleets to visit New York and San Francisco. This gracious gesture in part explains why the United States was willing to purchase Alaska when Russia offered it to us at the close of the war.

REVIEW QUESTIONS

1. Why did the election of Abraham Lincoln become the pretext for South Carolina's secession in 1860?
2. Discuss Buchanan's attitude toward the constitutional basis of the doctrine of secession.
3. Why were the Republicans under Lincoln's leadership opposed to the Crittenden Compromise?

4. How do you account for the fact that four slave states remained loyal to the Union?
5. What change occurred in Lincoln's policy toward slavery during the course of the war?
6. How did the financial requirements of the government during the war years lead to the enactment of the National Banking Act of 1863?
7. What were the "greenbacks"? What justification was there for the issuance of "greenbacks"?
8. How do you explain the failure of the British government to recognize the independence of the Confederacy?
9. What factors do you consider most important in explaining the failure of the struggle for Southern independence?

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EXAMINATIONS

MID-TERM TEST

(One hour)

Answer Question I and three additional questions.

I. State clearly the significance of any four of the following in the economic development of the United States.

a. The Asiento
b. Gibbons vs. Ogden
c. Eli Whitney
d. Embargo Act
e. Samuel Slater
f. Treaty of San Lorenzo
g. Tariff of 1816
h. McCulloch vs. Maryland

II. The results of the election of 1800 have often been described as "revolutionary." Do you agree with this description? Why?

III. If you had been a member of the First Congress of the United States, would you have supported Alexander Hamilton's financial measures? Give an explanation of your vote.

IV. Some American historians insist that the American Revolution was a social upheaval as well as a political revolt. Discuss the social and economic results of the Revolutionary years.

V. How do you account for the decline of the Federalist party and its failure to win a national election after it was defeated by the Jeffersonians in 1800?

VI. The colonial period of American history was a time of training in self-government, which Americans put to effective use when they had won their political independence. Do you agree with this statement? Why?

FINAL EXAMINATION

(*Three hours*)

Answer Question I and five other questions.

I. One of the great themes in the story of the American people, from the settlement of Jamestown to the close of the Civil War, was the broadening of the base of popular participation in government. Discuss as fully as possible.

II. Why has the spirit of nationalism that followed the War of 1812 generally been described as "premature?"

III. In what ways did the philosophy and purposes of Jacksonian democracy differ from those of the Jeffersonian democrats?

IV. What evidence of political continuity do you find in the programs of the Federalists, the Whigs, and the Republicans?

V. For more than seventy-five years after the ratification of the Constitution the controversy over the nature of the federal union grew in intensity, culminating finally in Civil War. Indicate the relation of each of the following to that controversy: The Hartford Convention, the Kentucky and Virginia Resolutions, the South Carolina Ordinance of Nullification.

VI. Compare and contrast the views of each of the following toward the institution of slavery in the United States: Charles Sumner, Stephen A. Douglas, Abraham Lincoln.

VII. The humanitarian reforms of the first half of the nineteenth century were the answers of many Americans to the impact of industrial and urban growth. Discuss.

VIII. One of the bitterest fruits of westward expansion was the intensification of the slavery controversy. Do you agree with this statement? Support your answer with specific incidents.

APPENDIX

PRESIDENTS AND SECRETARIES OF STATE

1.	George Washinton	1789-1797	Thomas Jefferson	1789
			Edmund Randolph	1794
			Timothy Pickering	1795
2.	John Adams	1797-1801	Timothy Pickering	
			John Marshall	1800
3.	Thomas Jefferson	1801-1809	James Madison	1801
4.	James Madison	1809-1817	Robert Smith	1809
			James Monroe	1811
5.	James Monroe	1817-1825	John Q. Adams	1817
6.	John Quincy Adams	1825-1829	Henry Clay	1825
7.	Andrew Jackson	1829-1837	Martin Van Buren	1829
			Edward Livingston	1831
			Louis McLane	1833
			John Forsyth	1834
8.	Martin Van Buren	1837-1841	John Forsyth	
9.	William Henry Harrison	1841	Daniel Webster	1841
10.	John Tyler	1841-1845	Daniel Webster	
			Hugh S. Legaré	1843
			Abel P. Upshur	1843
			John C. Calhoun	1844
11.	James Knox Polk	1845-1849	James Buchanan	1845
12.	Zachary Taylor	1849-1850	John M. Clayton	1849
13.	Millard Fillmore	1850-1853	Daniel Webster	1850
			Edward Everett	1852
14.	Franklin Pierce	1853-1857	William L. Marcy	1853
15.	James Buchanan	1857-1861	Lewis Cass	1857
			Jeremiah S. Black	1860
16.	Abraham Lincoln	1861-1865	William H. Seward	1861
17.	Andrew Johnson	1865-1869	William H. Seward	

18.	Ulysses S. Grant	1869-1877	Elihu B. Washburne	1869
			Hamilton Fish	1869
19.	Rutherford B. Hayes	1877-1881	William M. Evarts	1877
20.	James A. Garfield	1881	James G. Blaine	1881
21.	Chester A. Arthur	1881-1885	James G. Blaine	
			F. T. Frelinghuysen	1881
22.	Grover Cleveland	1885-1889	Thomas F. Bayard	1885
23.	Benjamin Harrison	1889-1893	James G. Blaine	1889
			John W. Foster	
24.	Grover Cleveland	1893-1897	Walter Q. Gresham	1893
			Richard Olney	1895
25.	William McKinley	1897-1901	John Sherman	1897
			William R. Day	1898
			John Hay	1898
26.	Theodore Roosevelt	1901-1909	John Hay	
			Elihu Root	1905
			Robert Bacon	1909
27.	William H. Taft	1909-1913	Philander C. Knox	1909
28.	Woodrow Wilson	1913-1921	William J. Bryan	1913
			Robert Lansing	1915
			Bainbridge Colby	1920
29.	Warren G. Harding	1921-1923	Charles E. Hughes	1921
30.	Calvin Coolidge	1923-1929	Charles E. Hughes	
			Frank B. Kellogg	1925
31.	Herbert C. Hoover	1929-1933	Henry L. Stimson	1929
32.	Franklin D. Roosevelt	1933-1945	Cordell Hull	1933
			E. R. Stettinius	1944
33.	Harry S. Truman	1945-1953	E. R. Stettinius	1945
			James F. Byrnes	1945
			George C. Marshall	1947
			Dean Acheson	1949
34.	Dwight D. Eisenhower	1953-	John Foster Dulles	1953

ENTRANCE OF STATES INTO UNION

Original thirteen states in capital letters

State	*Settled*	*Area Sq. Mi.*	*Entered Union*
Alabama	1702	51,998	1819
Arizona	1580	113,956	1912
Arkansas	1685	53,335	1836
California	1769	158,297	1850
Colorado	1858	103,948	1876
CONNECTICUT	1635	4,965	1788
DELAWARE	1726	2,370	1787
Florida	1559	58,666	1845
GEORGIA	1733	59,265	1788
Idaho	1842	83,354	1890
Illinois	1720	56,043	1818
Indiana	1733	36,045	1816
Iowa	1788	55,586	1846
Kansas	1727	81,774	1861
Kentucky	1765	40,181	1792
Louisiana	1699	45,409	1812
Maine	1624	29,895	1820
MARYLAND	1634	9,941	1788
MASSACHUSETTS	1620	8,039	1788
Michigan	1650	57,480	1837
Minnesota	1805	80,858	1858
Mississippi	1716	46,362	1817
Missouri	1764	68,727	1821
Montana	1809	146,131	1889
Nebraska	1847	76,808	1867
Nevada	1850	110,690	1864
NEW HAMPSHIRE	1623	9,031	1788
NEW JERSEY	1664	7,514	1787
New Mexico	1537	122,503	1912
NEW YORK	1614	47,654	1788
NORTH CAROLINA	1650	48,740	1789
North Dakota	1780	70,183	1889
Ohio	1788	40,740	1803
Oklahoma	1889	69,414	1907
Oregon	1838	95,607	1859
PENNSYLVANIA	1682	45,126	1787
RHODE ISLAND	1636	1,067	1790
SOUTH CAROLINA	1670	30,495	1788
South Dakota	1794	76,868	1889
Tennessee	1757	41,687	1796
Texas	1686	262,398	1845
Utah	1847	82,184	1896
Vermont	1724	9,124	1791
VIRGINIA	1607	40,262	1788
Washington	1811	66,836	1889
West Virginia	1727	24,022	1863
Wisconsin	1670	55,256	1848
Wyoming	1834	97,548	1890

Territories and Dependencies

	Acquired	*Area Sq. Mi.*
Alaska[1]	1867 — purchased from Russia	590,884
Hawaiian Islands	1900 — annexed	6,449
Philippine Islands	1899 — (made independent, 1946)	127,853
Puerto Rico	1898 — ceded to U. S. by Spain	3,435
Virgin Islands	1917 — purchased from Denmark	133

[1] Bill passed, June 30, 1958, to make Alaska a state.

A DECLARATION

BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA IN GENERAL CONGRESS ASSEMBLED

July 4, 1776 *

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of gov-

* Spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have been modernized.

ernment. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world:

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the state remaining in the meantime exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners, refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts made by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the recitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states: that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent states, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent states may of right do. And, for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

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CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES *

Adopted September 17, 1787
Effective March 4, 1789

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

Section 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

Section 2. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2. No person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes[1] shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.[2] The actual enumeration shall be made within three years

* Spelling, punctuation, and capitalization have been modernized..

1 See the 16th Amendment.

2 See the 14th Amendment.

after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one Representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof,[1] for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the Senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.[1]

3. No person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

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1 See the 17th Amendment.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. 1. The times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing Senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. 1. The Senators and Representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No Senator or Representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their ad-

journment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. The Congress shall have power:

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7. To establish post offices and post roads;

8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13. To provide and maintain a navy;

14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;

16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18. To make all laws, which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder or ex post facto law shall be passed.

4. No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.[1]

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1 See the 16th Amendment.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7. No money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

Section 10. 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

Section 1. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with

the Vice President chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said House shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.[1]

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have

attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. 1. The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law; but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they

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1 Superseded by the 12th Amendment.

think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more States; between a State and citizens of another State;[1] between citizens of different States; between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of

1 See the 11th Amendment.

different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.[1]

2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

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1 See the 14th Amendment, Sec. 1.

3. No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.[1]

SECTION 3. 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

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1 See the 13th Amendment.

ARTICLE VI

1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.[1]

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

[Names omitted]

AMENDMENTS

First Ten Amendments passed by Congress Sept. 25, 1789.
Ratified by three fourths of the States December 15, 1791.

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States, pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

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1 See the 14th Amendment, Sec. 4.

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of

the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise reexamined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI

Passed by Congress March 5, 1794. Ratified January 8, 1798.

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States, by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII

Passed by Congress December 12, 1803. Ratified September 25, 1804.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at

least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate; the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted; the person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII

Passed by Congress February 1, 1865. Ratified December 18, 1865.

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall

have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV

Passed by Congress June 16, 1866. Ratified July 28, 1868.

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may, by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations, and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV

Passed by Congress February 27, 1869. Ratified March 30, 1870.

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI

Passed by Congress July 12, 1909. Ratified February 25, 1913.

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII

Passed by Congress May 16, 1912. Ratified May 31, 1913.

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided,* That the legislature of any State may empower the executive

thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

ARTICLE XVIII

Passed by Congress December 17, 1917. Ratified January 29, 1919.

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article, the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XIX

Passed by Congress June 5, 1919. Ratified August 26, 1920.

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XX

Passed by Congress March 3, 1932. Ratified February 6, 1933.

SECTION 1. The terms of the President and Vice President shall end at noon on the 20th day of January, and the terms of Senators and Representatives at noon on the 3rd day of January, of the years in which such terms would have ended if this article had not been ratified; and the terms of their successors shall then begin.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall begin at noon on the 3d

day of January, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 3. If, at the time fixed for the beginning of the term of the President, the President-elect shall have died, the Vice President-elect shall become President. If a President shall not have been chosen before the time fixed for the beginning of his term, or if the President-elect shall have failed to qualify, then the Vice President-elect shall act as President until a President shall have qualified; and the Congress may by law provide for the case wherein neither a President-elect nor a Vice President-elect shall have qualified, declaring who shall then act as President, or the manner in which one who is to act shall be selected, and such person shall act accordingly until a President or Vice President shall have qualified.

SECTION 4. The Congress may by law provide for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the House of Representatives may choose a President whenever the right of choice shall have devolved upon them, and for the case of the death of any of the persons from whom the Senate may choose a Vice President whenever the right choice shall have devolved upon them.

SECTION 5. Sections 1 and 2 shall take effect on the 15th day of October following the ratification of this article.

SECTION 6. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission.

ARTICLE XXI

Passed by Congress February 20, 1933. Ratified December 5, 1933.

SECTION 1. The eighteenth article of amendment to the Constitution of the United States is hereby repealed.

SECTION 2. The transportation or importation into any State, Territory, or possession of the United States for delivery or use therein of intoxicating liquors in violation of the laws thereof, is hereby prohibited.

SECTION 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by conventions in the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

ARTICLE XXII

Passed by Congress March 12, 1947. Ratified February 26, 1951.

SECTION 1. No person shall be elected to the office of the President more than twice, and no person who has held the office of President, or acted as President, for more than two years of a term to which some other person was elected President shall be elected to the office of the President more than once. But this article shall not apply to any person holding the office of President when this article was proposed by the Congress, and shall not prevent any person who may be holding the office of President, or acting as President, during the term within which this article becomes operative from holding the office of President or acting as President during the remainder of such term.

SECTION 2. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States within seven years from the date of its submission to the States by the Congress.

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